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STUDIES

IN

THE LANGUAGE OF PECOCK

INAUGURAL DISSERTATION

BY

FREDRIK SCHMIDT

UPPSALA 1900
ALMQVIST & WIKSELLS BOKTRYCKERI-A.-B.

STUDIES

IN

THE LANGUAGE OF PECOCK

BY

FREDRIK SCHMIDT
PHIL. LIC.

BY THE PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF UPSALA
TO BE PUBLICLY DEFENDED
IN LECTURE ROOM IV
ON MAY 28, 1900, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M.
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

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Part I.

PECOCK'S RELATION TO THE LITERARY LANGUAGE OF HIS TIME.

I. Introduction.

§ 1. In an article by Prof. Skeat: "*On the Dialect of Wycliffe's Bible*" (Trans. Phil. Soc. 1895—98, pp. 212—219), where he is discussing the use of the *i*-vowel in certain verbal and nominal terminations *(-ith, -ide, -is)*, he remarks at the close: "It would be very useful to fix the locality of this weak past tense in *-ide*, which characterizes nearly every one of these Wycliffite MSS. The only text in which I have noticed them as yet is Pecock's "Repressor", which reproduces nearly every peculiarity of the Wycliffite dialect, except that its forms are a little later, i. e. it only differs in date, and not in locality . . . Pecock was a long while at Oxford, being for some years a Fellow of Oriel, and it is notorious that he was a diligent student of Wycliffite literature; so that, as at present advised, I incline to hazard the guess that the locality of the scriptorium whence the Wycliffite MSS. were issued may actually have been that famous city."

Now it must be borne in mind that at the period in which the composition of Pecock's Repressor falls, a standard literary language may be said to have been practically established on the basis of the London dialect as reflected by the London Charters and also by Chaucer's

works in large measure[1]. This literary language was Midland chiefly, but displays also several traces of other dialects, more especially of the Southern. With this standard English before us, it is of interest to enquire whether, and in how far, the language of Pecock is differentiated from it; and provided that it is found to be so, whether the points of difference are the same as those observable when the Wycliffite Bible version is compared with the said literary language.

These questions it is proposed here to answer by instituting a comparison between the language as used by Pecock in "The Repressor" and "The Follower to the Donet" on the one hand, and that in the London Charters, in Chaucer's works and in the Bible on the other. This comparison will chiefly be concerned with the different representation of the vowels in stressed syllables, as described by Morsbach in his "Ueber den Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache", by ten Brink in his "Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst" and by Gasner in his "Beiträge zum Entwickelungsgang der neuenglischen Schriftsprache auf Grund der mittelenglischen Bibelversionen"; regarding the consonants and the inflections only some of the most important features will be noticed, the examples given from the Bible being extracted from Gasner's above-mentioned work. The material which Gasner treats comprises the entire Bible in Forshall's and Madden's edition; seeing, however, that "the earlier version" rests upon a variety of MSS., which it would be necessary here to separate one from another, the following comparison has been limited strictly to "the later version" (of about 1388), that having been edited from one continuous manuscript[2]; its forms are given in italics by Gasner.

---

[1] See MORSBACH, *Ueber den Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache,* pp. 167 sqq. and *Engl. Stud.* XII, p. 280.

[2] Excluding the Prologues and the Epistle to the Laodiceans (see Skeat's above-mentioned article, p. 215).

PREFACE.

These *Studies in the Language of Pecock* are concerned with the "Inflections and Syntax of the Verb", but include also an introductory account of "Pecock's Relation to the Literary Language of his Time", chiefly, from the point of view of phonology. In the main treatise the chief stress is laid on syntax, as this part of grammar is of special interest in an author who wrote at the period transitional between Middle and Modern English (cf. Sweet, N. E. Gr. § 594), and who, furthermore, produced a work (The Repressor) that has been termed "eins der bedeutendsten Erzeugnisse der englischen Prosa, welche das fünfzehnte Jahrhundert uns hinterlassen hat" (ten Brink, *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur* II, p. 348). The syntax of the 15th century has been already discussed in several monographs (Kellner, *Caxton's Syntax and Style;* Blume, *Die Sprache der Paston Letters;* Baldwin, *The Inflections and Syntax of the Morte d'Arthur*), but all these works deal with a later part of the century and with writings of other styles than Pecock's.

The present investigation is chiefly based on Pecock's most important work: *The Repressor of over much blamyng of the Clergy,* of about 1449 (ed. by Churchill Babington, London 1860). Extracts have also been made, though in the chapters on tense, mood and auxiliaries only exceptionally, from *The Follower to the Donet,* of about 1454 (MS. Bibl. Reg. 17 D. ix. in the British Museum). Examples from the Follower are distinguished by the affixing of "Fol." together with a number and letter

(a, b, c, or d) indicating the respective folio and column. Citations from the Repressor, on the other hand, are only marked by a number, giving the page in Babington's edition; the abbreviation otherwise used for this work in the present treatise is "Rp".

The quotations from the Bible in the Repressor, which for the most part are derived from Wycliffe's "later version" (cf. Babington's Introduction to the Repressor, p. xxviii), have only been employed as material in a few cases where they appeared to be of special interest for the matter under discussion.

As regards the MS. of the Repressor it may be noted that different hands sometimes occur, given in foot-notes in Babington's edition (cf. also Babington's Introduction, p. lxiii). The examples in this treatise have, however, for the most part been copied from Babington's text without regard to his foot-notes, save in one or two cases where such foot-note has directly concerned the point discussed.

An account of the MS. of the Follower is given by Babington (Introduction, p. lxviii). Here, therefore, it only requires to be mentioned, that the few passages in the work that might be called in question on the ground of different hands have not been drawn upon for examples. In regard to orthography, the *þ* of the MS. has been rendered by *th*, in order not to deviate from the method adopted by Babington in printing the Repressor MS. (cf. the above-mentioned Introduction, p. lxv). It may also be added that I have copied the first 20 folios of the Follower, but that this copy can not as yet be printed, as it has not been possible for me to collate it with the MS. sufficiently.

For the circumstances of Pecock's life and literary career the reader is referred to ten Brink, *Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur* II, pp. 346—352, and to Babington's Introduction.

In conclusion, I desire to take this opportunity of

respectfully and sincerely expressing my deep obligations to my teacher in Germanic Philology, Professor Dr Axel Erdmann of this University, who first pointed out to me Pecock's importance from a philological point of view, and whose constant encouragement and advice, both during the progress of this treatise and the whole course of my studies here, have been of the greatest value and help to me.

I also wish to tender my heartiest thanks to my friend W. E. Harlock, M. A., Lektor at Kongl. Sjökrigsskolan, Stockholm, for having kindly undertaken the troublesome work of formally revising my treatise.

Upsala, May 1900.

Fredrik Schmidt.

II. Phonology.

A. Vowels.

§ 2. O. E. *a*.

O. E. *a* **in open syllables (except before nasal consonants) =** *a*, **e. g.:**

P. *make* 3; *maken* 3; *rather* 11, 94, 95; *smale* 360, 400; *farith* 541, as in L Ch., Chaucer and Bb.

O. E. *a* **in close syllables (except before nasal consonants). A parasite** *i* **has been developed before** *-sc*: P. *aischis* 230; *weischith* 230. This diphthong is also found in Bb. (See Gasner 101).

O. E. *a* **before single or double nasal consonant appears as** *a*, **e. g.:**

P. *name* 110; *names* 133; *nameliche* 188, 104, 404; *same* 487; *man* 43; *mannys* 435, 561; Fol. 3 a; *can* 43; *many* 48; *manie* 436; *whanne* 513, 441, 48; Fol. 6 a; *thanne* 55, 60, 439, 436, 488; Fol. 8 c; *than* 345.

L Ch. have *a*. Obs. *whan, whanne, than, thanne; when, then* occur only a few times in the earlier LCh. (Schriftsprache 157). Chaucer has *a; whanne, thanne* (Schriftsprache 157). Bb. has *a; whanne, thanne* (Gasner 103).

O. E. *a* **before group nasal.**

a. *a* + *nd*.

P. *lond* 25 (always); *uplond* 28; *Englond* 22, 306, 358; *stonde* 139, 246; Fol. 40 b; *sondis* 376; *bo(o)nd* 316, 397; *hond* 275, 256, 259, 269, 308, 532, 557; *fonde* 365 (pret. sing. of *findan)*; *bonde* 314 (pret. sing. of *bindan)*. *a* occurs in *hand* only 259 and before shortening consonant groups: *handling* 555, 557; *handlingis* 556; *answere* 434; *answerid* 230; *houndis* 30 *(= hondis)* is quite isolated.

L Ch. have *o* : *a* = 24 : 11 (Schriftsprache 62). The *a*'s are more plentiful in the later L Ch. Obs. *answere*. Chaucer has *o*, but *a* in *answere*. Bb. has *o*, but *a* be-

fore shortening consonant groups: *answere, aunswere, handful, handmayden* (Gasner 19).

b. *a* + *ng*.

P. *among* 198, 221 etc.; *strong* 14, 42 etc.; *longe* 21 etc.; *wrongis* 416; *wrongers* 549, but *hange* 197, 192, 238, 261 etc.

L Ch. have *o*, but *hange* (Schriftsprache 62). Chaucer has *o*, also in *honge* (ten Brink § 130). Bb. has *o*, but *hange* (*hongide* only once, cf. Gasner 102).

c. *a* + *mb*.

P. *lomb* 203: *lambren* 388.

L Ch. *lambe*. Chaucer: *lomb: lamb, lambes* (ten Brink § 217); Bb. *lomb*: *lambren* (Gasner 63).

d. *a* + *nk*.

P. *thanke* 90; *thankingis* 375; *dranken* 319; *schranke* 246.

L Ch. have *a; thonked* once. Chaucer and Bb. have *a*. Cf. Schriftsprache 62, ten Brink § 12 β, Gasner 102.

§ 3. O. E. *á*.

O. E. *á* always becomes *o, oo,* in cases where it has kept its length, e. g.:

P. *go* 30, 125; *goostli* 503; *oonli* 21; *noon* 21, 23; *oothis* 484; *holy* 210; *hool* 2, 24; *tho* 21, 3, 37; *more* 94, 561; *mo* 13, 47; *moost* 480; *oon* 4, 11, 50; *knowe* 160. *ou* is written in *noun* (= *noon*) 432, 564.

L Ch. *moost; most*. Bb. has *moost, most,* but usually *almest(e)* (Gasner 117). Chaucer: *moost; meest*.

O. N. *á* is found in the word *fro*[1] in P. This form (*fro*) appears both before vowels and consonants, e. g. 7, 404, 410, 433, Fol. 57 d, 20 c etc. (*from* very rare in Rp. and only before a vowel: *from othir* 553; *from yuel* 553, but in Fol. both before vowels and consonants: *from opre* 2 d; *from doyng* 55 c).

Chaucer has *from* and *fro*. L Ch. and Bb. *fro*. Cf. ten Brink § 58, Schriftsprache 42, Gasner 116.

[1] For different opinions about the derivation of *fro* see Schriftsprache 42, Kluge-Lutz: English Etymology 82 and ten Brink § 58.

O. E. *á* + *w*, (or *h*) > *ou*, e. g.:
P. *soul* 499; *ouzte* 160; Bb. *auzt*, once (Gasner 117).

§ 4. O. E. *æ*.

P. has mostly *a*, e. g.: *applis* 160; *craft* 50; *what* 180; *that* 174; *fader* 372; *watir* Fol. 18 d, in agreement with L Ch., Chaucer and Bb.

O. E. *gædrian*, *gaderian* = P. *gadere* 296. L Ch. and Chaucer have *gadere;* Bb. has *gedere, gederid* a few times instead of the usual *gadere, gaderid* (Gasner 104).

O. E. *togædre* = P. *togidere* 10, 20 etc., Fol. 10 a, 10 b etc. L Ch. has *togidre* oftener than *togedre* (Schriftsprache 30). Chaucer and Bb. have *togidre* (ten Brink § 48, III; Gasner 104).

O. E. *mæsse* = P. *masse* 202. L Ch. and Chaucer have *masse* and *messe* (Morsbach, Gr. § 13) (Bb. not found).

O. E. *hwæder* = P. *whether* 10, 310, 316 etc., as in L Ch., Chaucer and Bb.

§ 5. O. E. *ǽ*.

O. E. *ǽ* > *e, ee* in general, e. g.:
P. *hethen* 59, 198; *re(e)de* 52, 208; *le(e)ue* 217, 537; *leest* Fol. 14 b., as in the other works. P. *dide* 159 (< O. E. *dǽd*, sb.) is quite isolated beside *deede* frequently: 256 (9 times), 259, 260 (4 times); *dede* 28, 165, 259; *deedis* 42, Fol. 2 d etc.

O. E. *ǽ* shortened, mostly = *a*, e. g.:
P. *fatte* 259; *lasse* 44, 74, 84, 121, Fol. 9 a; *neuer the lasse* 402 (but *neuertheles* 409); *wrastlen* Fol. 4 c.

e appears in: *lest* 85 (< *þy læs þe*); *lefte* (pret.) 325; *left(e)* (past partic.) 158, 517, 525.

a and *e* alternate in: *ladde* (pret.) 35, *lad* (past partic.) 20, 48, 307, 161, Fol. 6 c, 19 c, 48 a, 69 c: *led* (past partic.) 109, 217; *sprad* (past partic.) 29, 213, Fol. 80 a: *spred* (past partic.) 216; *rad* (past partic.) 19, 26, 213, 309, 496, Fol. 4 d, 8 a, 16 a, *radde* (past partic.) Fol. 13 b, 15 b: *red* (past partic.) 59, 203, 208, 496, 193, Fol.

8 a; *drad* (past partic.) 249, Fol. 67 c: *dred* Fol. 20 b; *any* 60, 62, 99, but usually *eny* 5, 53, 58, 64, 153, Fol. 11 d, 12 a etc.

L Ch.: *left, ment, delt, radde, rad; lesse* and *lasse* (Schriftsprache 44 sq., Morsbach, Gr. § 96, 2 b). Chaucer has generally *a,* but always *slepte, mente, lente* and occasionally *dredde, yspred* for usual *dradde, spradde; lesse* occurs oftener than *lasse* (ten Brink §§ 50, 106 α). Bb. has *lesse* (Gasner 79) and *radde, lad, laft* beside *dredde, ledde, lefte* (Gasner 12, 31 sq.); *eny* appears in the earlier L Ch. usually as *any,* in the later as *eny;* Chaucer has *any,* seldom *eny;* Bb. *ony,* (*any* twice), cf. Gasner 87.

O. E. *á* + *g.*

P. *euereither* 8, 391, 265 etc.; *neither* 10, 231 etc. agree with the forms in L Ch. and Chaucer; Bb. has *eithir* as a pronoun, otherwise *ether* and *nether* (Gasner 118). N. E. "either-(or)" = P. *outhir-(or)* 395; *or-(or)* 516; L Ch. *other-(or)* (Schriftsprache 83); Chaucer *other-(or), or-(or)* (see Skeat's Glossary).

§ 6. O. E. *e.*

O. E. *e* generally appears as *e, ee* in the works before us, e. g.:

P. *peny* 284, 283; *men* 14, 157; *be(e)re* 2, 151; *speke* 202. Obs. P. *stide* 19, 366, 196 = O. E. *stede; styd* (north.), *styde* (Kent.) (Sievers, Gr. § 263). Bb. *stidfastli* (Gasner 106); L Ch. and Chaucer: *stede.* P. *britheren* 63, 543, 492; very common in Bb. (Gasner 61), but never in L Ch. and Chaucer. P. *frike* Fol. 3 c = O. E. *frec* or *fric* (Morsbach, Gr. p. 145). P. *lift* 530, etymon doubtful, (cf. Skeat, Etym. Dict). Chaucer *lift,* see Skeat's Glossary. Bb. *left* Matth. 25: 41, Acts 21: 3, Levit. 14: 15, Judges 3: 21.

O. E. *e* + *ng.*

P. *Englond* 21, 22, 306, 358, 516 (4 times), 436, 517; *Englisch* 390, Fol. 3 d: *Ynglond* 9, 21, 358, 370 (twice), Fol. 79 b.; *mengid* 242, 252, Fol. 7 c.

L Ch.: *Englond, England* beside *Inglyssh, Inglond, Ingland* (Schriftsprache 32). Chaucer: *English* (see Skeat's Glossary); *meynd.* Bb. *meynd,* but also *myngide* (Gasner 106).

O. E. *e* + ȝ.

P. *aȝens, aȝen* 8, 75, 150, Fol. 3 b etc. L Ch. *ayein, aȝen;* Chaucer: *ayeyn;* Bb. *aȝens, aȝen* (Gasner 108).

O. E. *e* + *sc* = *eisch* in P.

P. *fleisch* 83, 495, Fol. 17 b; *fleischli* 15, 497; *fleischlihode* 319, 476; *threisching* 388; *neisch* (< O. E. *hnesce*) Fol. 12 c. This diphthong occurs also in Bb., but not in L Ch. and Chaucer (Gasner 106; ten Brink § 139; Morsbach, Gr. § 109, Anm. 8).

§ 7. O. E. *é.*

O. E. *é* = *e, ee,* e. g.:

P. *sweete* 66, *feetis* 25, *kepe* 544, *deeme* 223, *seche* 304, in accordance with the other works.

P. *dieth* 500; *deie* Fol. 8 c, 8 d, 9 b. L Ch. and Chaucer: *deie, dye.* Bb. *die.*

O. E. *é* + ȝ.

P. *twei* 8, 357, 477; *tweine* 286, 418, 15, 441, 558. L Ch. *twei.* Chaucer and Bb.: *tweyne, twey(e).*

§ 8. O. E. *i (y), í.*

P. *which* 267, 2, 5 etc.; *thilk* 12, 25 etc.; *sithen* 304 etc.; *child* 241 etc.; *hider* 320, 544 etc.; *fynger* 165; *wijs* 24; *lijk* 24, 28 etc.; *lijf* Fol. 10 b; *wijn* 332; *wyin* 332; *whijt* 126, 13 etc., in agreement with the other works.

O. E. *swylc* = P. *such(e)* 12, 155 etc., Fol. 5 a, 5 b, 10 d, 11 d etc.; *siche* 133, Fol. 3 d (twice). L Ch. *such(e).* Chaucer: *swich, such.* Bb. *siche, suche.*

O. E. *wifman* = P. sing. *womman* 118, 119, 123 etc., plur. *wommen* 67, 317, 318; *wymmen* only in Fol., e. g. 2 b (twice). L Ch. and Chaucer: sing. *womman,* plur. *wommen.* Bb. sing. *womman (wymman* 6 times, see Gasner 109), plur. *wymmen.*

O. E. *wicu, weocu, wucu,* in P. *wekeli* 292; L Ch. *weke*

(Schriftsprache 64). Chaucer: *wike, weke* (ten Brink §§ 35, 37). Bb. *wouke, woke* (Gasner 109).

P. *i* > *e* in *sengil* 184, 356, Fol. 20 d, 15 c; *syngil* 155; *undirnemen* 562, *undirnemyng* 453, 563, but usually *y* in *undirnyme(n)* 2, 416, 476, *undirnymest* 3 etc.; *leggith* (= N. E. "lies") 29, beside *liggith* 113, *ligge* 318, 272, 169 etc.

P. *i* > *e* also in the loan-word *sekir* 76 beside usual *sikir* 8 (twice), 76, 91; *sikerer* 560, 216.

i > *e* a few times in L Ch. (Schriftsprache 32); no examples noted in Chaucer and Bb. (cf. ten Brink § 10; Gasner 108 sq.).

§ 9. O. E. *o*.

O. E. *o* = *o*, e. g.:

P. *god* 54; *cosse* 271; *folk* 299; *word* 159; *bifore* 456, 436; *ouer* 16, 19; *open* Fol. 3 b, *hope* Fol. 14 c.; as in L Ch., Chaucer and Bb.

O. E. *o* + ȝ, *h*.

P. *douȝty* 13; *douȝtris* 500; *souȝt* 433 etc.; *brouȝt* 26 etc.; *thouȝ* 1, 94, 407 etc. Cf. Schriftsprache 72, ten Brink §§ 45, 46, Gasner 111.

§ 10. O. E. *ó*.

O. E. *ó* = *o, oo*, e. g.:

P. *doom* 456; *good* 110; *bookis* 54; *foot* 25; *doon* 473, 111; *don* 13; *scho* 225, 231; *loke* 135; *modir* 159; corresponding to the usual development of this sound. *ou* is written in *doun* (= *doon*) 111.

O. E. *ó* + *ht, w*, ȝ.

P. *bowis* 160; *bowȝes* 160 (< O. E. *bóȝ, bóh*); *ynow* 82, 161, 332; *ynowȝ* 187, 405, 411, 430; *ynouȝ* 86, 161, 177 etc.; *nouȝt* 336; *nauȝt* 321, 414, 417, 419, 430; *auȝt* 488; *ouȝwhere* 26.

L Ch. *oght, nought, noght, ynowȝ* (Schriftsprache 76). Chaucer: *ought, aught; nought, naught; ynough; ynow, ynowe*

des Beirats § [illegible]. Zb. [illegible] pour [illegible] plus [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

§ [illegible]. [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

	thundir *thondris* (once)	*thondir*
drunke 122	*drunked* (See Glossary to Wycliffe's Bible)	*dronken*

§ 12. **O. E.** *ú.*

O. E. *ú* appears as *ou (ow)*, as in L Ch., Chaucer and Bb., e. g.:

P. *hous* 25; *mouth* 88, 89; *aboute* Fol. 13 c; *thousind* 215; *town* 402; *ground* 24; *how* 16, 24.

O. E. *ú* shortened in *husbond* 174; weakened in *neiȝbore* 13, 298.

§ 13. **O. E.** *y* (= mutated Germanic *u*).

P. has *i, y: birthe* 268; *bisien* 53; *bisi* 377; *bisie* 195; *bisines* 53, Fol. 17 d; *bisynes* 74, 90; *birthen* 19, Fol. 2 b; *brigge* 338; *biggen* 280, 287, 493; *bie* 303; *abie* 331; *aȝenbie* 261; *chirche* 27, 91, 148; *fillith* 344; *fulfille* 106, Fol. 2 b, 3 a etc.; *firste* 79, 82 etc.; *gilden* 50; *gilti* 262; *hil* 174; *kingis* 9; *kinde* 19, 541 etc.; *kynde* Fol. 10 d, 11 c etc.; *knyt* 82; *mynde* 49, Fol. 13 a etc.; *rischis* 230, 166; *synne* 190; *yuel* 48, 541, Fol. 19 a etc.

P. has *i* and *e: bilde* 183, 365, *bildith* 86, *bildingis* 554: *beldingis* 198; *girdel* 135, 166: *ungerd* 135; *kisse* 207, *kissen* 207 (twice), *kissiden* 270, *kissing* 270, 555, *kissid* 562: *kessiden* 270 (twice); *stire* 517, 165, Fol. 3 d; *stirid* 32, 35, 176, 342; *stiryng* Fol. 11 b: *sterers* 324, *steryngis* Fol. 11 a. O. E. *þyncan* and *þencan* are confused: *thiṅke* 99, 109, 238, 165: *thenke* 109, 131, 165, 282 (both = O. E. *þencan); me thinkith* 67, 78, 370, Fol. 18 b: *me thenkith* Fol. 8 b, 80 a.

P. has *i* and *u* (*o*)*: birie* 178, *biried* 39: *buried* 28, 31, 215; *tristith* 296: *truste* 72, 85, 296, 308; *myche* 130, 165, 227, 313, Fol. 2 b, 5 a, *miche* 53, 130, 153, 430: *moche* only 428, 304.

P. has only *e* in *ferther* 84, 158, 373 etc. (formed on *fer* 553, Fol. 11 a, *ferforth* Fol. 10 a).

P. has only *u* in *lust* Fol. 4 c, 11 c; *lustith* 311.

The later L Ch. have, as a rule, *i* in close syllables; *e* often in *fulfelle, cherche, ferst, mende;* in open syllables *e* is in the majority: *bery, steren, euel* etc.; *u* occurs only in certain words: *furst, kusse, burie, churche, Caunterbury.* See Schriftsprache 39 sq., Morsbach, Gr. § 131, Anm. 1. Chaucer has mostly *i*, the *e*'s are plentiful in rime: *fulfellen, ken, thenne, kessen, lest, steren, euel; u* occurs only in *thurst, burden, -bury.* See Morsbach, Gr., § 131, Anm. 1. Bb. has *i, y* with very few exceptions: *schet* (once) beside usual *schit, schittiden; truste* beside *triste* (Gasner 113, 114). P. *myche, miche (moche)* corresponds to L Ch. *muche, moche;* Chaucer has *muche* and Bb. *myche, miche,* once *moche* (Gasner 115).

§ 14. O. E. *ý*.

P. *fier* Fol. 10 b (4 times), 10 d; *fierid* Fol. 10 d; *pride* 150; *litle* 16 etc.; *litil* 16 etc.; *hid* 54. Cf. Schriftsprache 49, ten Brink § 50, Gasner 121.

§ 15. O. Angl. *á* (W. S. *ea*) + *ld*.

P. *holde* 8, Fol. 12 c, 13 a etc.; *hoolde* Fol. 12 c; *holden* 5; *holdist* 175 etc.; *solde* 493, 562; *toold* 353, 122, Fol. 20 c: *tellid* Fol. 37 d; *oold* 17, 269, 275, 277, 278, 307 etc.: *eelde* (adj.) 269.

L Ch. and Chaucer have only *o, oo.* Chaucer has, exceptionally, *helde* beside regular *holde* (ten Brink § 35 ε). Bb. has *holde, se(e)lde* (*solde* once); *telde* oftener than *tolde; elde, eeld* (always). Cf. Gasner 17, 123.

§ 16. O. E. *ea* before *r*-combinations.

O. E. *ea* > *a* in general, e. g.:

P. *hard* 109; *arme* 325; *toward* 303; *scharp* Fol. 10 d; *scharpeli* 73; but *scherpli* 2; *vynezerdis* 527; *berdis* 119.

L Ch. *chirche-ȝerd,* (*ȝard* once); Chaucer *ȝerd, berd;* Bb. *ȝerd, vyneȝerd, berd* (Schriftsprache 50, ten Brink § 48, IV γ, Gasner 20, 45).

§ 17. **O. Angl.** *æ* (W. S. and Kent. *ea*) before *h* and *h*-combinations.

P. *wex(e)* 342, 197; *waxe* Fol. 51 b; *streiȝt* 269, 270, 372 (< O. E. *ȝestreaht*); *tauȝt* 9; *sauȝe* 305; *sawe* Fol. 14 b (*si*(ȝ)*e* 34, 425, 186).

L Ch. have *wex: wax* (Schriftsprache 52). Chaucer: *wex, wax, weex, straught, saugh, seih, saygh (sy)* (ten Brink §§ 145, 162). Bb. *wex, wax, streiȝte (strezte* once, *strauȝte* once), *seiȝ, saiȝ, say, saw (siȝe)* (Gasner 124).

§ 18. **O. E.** *eo* before *r*-combinations.

P. *erthe* 39, 41; *herte* 25, 302; *fer* 553, Fol. 11 a etc.; *ferforth* 10 a; *werk* 35, 39, 101, 164, Fol. 2 a etc.; *werkis* Fol. 2 a etc.; *swerd* 71; *worthier* 46; *worschipe* 376 etc.; *sistris* 298.

L Ch. *suster* (*sister* once), Chaucer: *sister;* Bb. *sister.* L Ch. *werk;* Bb. *werk* (*work* rare). Except these, no differences.

Here may also be mentioned: O. E. *seolf, sielf, sylf* (Sievers, Gr. § 101) = P. *silf* 75, 153, Fol. 5 c, 10 d, 3 b etc. L Ch. and Chaucer *self.* Bb. *silf* (*self* rare).

§ 19. **O. E.** *eo, io* before a back vowel *u, o.*

P. *clepe* 48, 150, 389 etc.; *world* 306, 322 etc.; *silk* 118; *siluer* 198; *mylky* 561 agree with the usual forms with the exeption that L Ch. and Bb. have some sporadic *e*-vowels in *seelk* (Gasner 127) and *seluer* (Schriftsprache 54).

§ 20. **O. E.** *eo* < front consonant (ȝ, *sċ*) + *o, u.*

P. *biȝende* 436; *biȝonde* 280; *ȝondir* 151; *ȝong* Fol. 7 b etc.; *schulde* 66 etc.; *schude* 176 etc.; *schulden* Fol. 12 a etc. (< O. Angl. *sculde, sculdon,* Schriftsprache 148).

L Ch. *beyond, sholde* and *shulde, schulde, ȝong.* Chaucer: *yong, yond, sholde* (ten Brink § 35, δ Anm. 3). Bb. *ȝong, beȝondis, biȝendi(s), schulde.*

§ 21. **O. Angl.** mutated *a* (W. S. *ea*) before *l*-combinations.

P. *eelde* (sb.) 303; *eldir* 356; *eeldir* 106, 202, 496, 497, 356, 357; *eeldist* 118, 255, 249, 406; *sille* 473, 289 (< O. E. *sellan, syllan;* see Sievers, Gr. §§ 80, Anm. 2; 407); *silling* 468; *siller* 469; *hilding* 89 (pres. partic. of W. S. *hyldan,* O. Angl. *hældan*); *hildid* 323: *helde* Fol. 18 c, *heldith* Fol. 18 c, *helden* Fol. 18 c.

L Ch. *selle; elde; thelder.* Chaucer: *eelde; elde* (ten Brink § 48 V); *selle; elder; eldest.* Bb. *eelde; elde; sille* (*selle* 3 times); *he(e)lde.* See Gasner 18 and Glossary to Wycliffe's Bible.

§ 22. **O. E.** *w* + mutated *eo.*

P. *wirche* 50, 154, 224, 389, Fol. 3 a, 1 a, 57 c; *wirchith* 264, 430, 431, Fol. 9 a; *wirching* 258, Fol. 13 b: *worche* 97; *worching* 153, 257; *wors* 48, 307, 286, 54.

L Ch. *werche; worst.* Chaucer: *werken; werse; werst.* Bb. *worche; worste; worse* (*wers* once). See Schriftsprache 55, 65; ten Brink §§ 169, 244; Gasner 116, 79.

§ 23. **O. E.** *eo* + *h, ȝ, hs.*

P. *riȝt* 67 etc.; *betwixe* 69 etc.; *sixe* 159 etc.; *fiȝte* 257; *liȝt* 100 etc.; *liȝtir* 268 etc.

The other works have, as a rule, *i.* L Ch. have *sexte, sex* a few times, but usually *sixe.* Bb. has *sixe* (*sexe* once).

§ 24. **O. E.** *e* after front ȝ.

P. *gete* 507 etc.; *bigete* 375; *forȝete* 163 etc.; *ȝerde* (= "rod") 424 (< O. E. *ȝerd, ȝyrd*); *ȝeue* 14, 17, 70, Fol. 15 b, 91 a etc.; *ȝeuyng* 398, 402, 404; *ȝeueth* 1, 367, 409, 404, 521, 551: *ȝiue* only 168; *ȝelde* 140 (twice), 387, Fol. 6 d: *ȝildith* 356; *ȝit* 378 (always); *if* 75, 55 (always).

L Ch. have: *geten; yeten; ȝelde* (*ȝyld* once), *ȝeue, geve, ȝiue, yet, yyf (yf),* (Schriftsprache 56). Chaucer has *gete, yeelde, yeuen* and *yiven, yit, yif, if* (ten Brink §§ 37, 123). Bb. *gete; forȝete; ȝyue* (*ȝeue* rarely); *ȝit; if* (*ȝif* once) (Gasner 129).

O. E. *ȝæst, ȝiest, ȝyst* = P. *gist* 284, 406, 521, 522; *gistis* 521, 522; *gestis* 521. Chaucer and Bb.: *gest;* not found in L Ch. (Schriftsprache 56, 98).

§ 25. O. E. *éa.*

O. E. *éa* generally becomes *e, ee,* e. g.:

P. *gre(e)t(e)* 247, 248, 375; *heed* 52, 437; *ȝeer* 29; *cheep* 108; *deeth* 564; *leeful* 135, as in the other works.

O. E. *éa* (angl. *é*) + *h, ȝ.*

P. *hiȝ(e)* 531, Fol. 5 d etc. *hiȝing* 201; *hiȝed* 249, Fol. 2 d; *iȝe(n)* 74, 270; *yȝen* 186; *nyȝ* 5, 561, Fol. 5 c etc. *weelnyȝ* 7; *nyȝing* 555; *sliȝli* 194 (< O. N. sloegr). *neiȝbor* 561; *neiȝbourli* 4, 70; *neiȝe* (vb.) 479, 225, Fol. 10 d; *neiȝing* 554, 555, 556, 567, Fol. 11 a.

The earlier L Ch. prefer the diphthong *(ey, ei, eigh);* the monophthong *(i)* comes more into use in the later L Ch. (Cf. Schriftsprache 71). Chaucer: *high; hy; ye; neigh; ny; neigbour; sligh; sly(e).* (Cf. ten Brink § 21 ε). Bb. has mostly *hiȝ* (*heiȝ, heiȝer, heiȝnesse,* each form once); *nyȝ, niȝ* (*neiȝ* exceptionally); *neiȝe* (vb.); *neiȝbore* (Gasner 130).

O. E. *éa* + *w* is transcribed *ew* in P., as in the other works, e. g. P. *schewe* 3; *schewid* 201; *fewe* 15, *hewe* 29.

§ 26. O. E. *éo, ío.*

O. E. *éo, ío* = *e, ee,* e. g.:

P. *leese* 229; *cheese* 88, 184; *fre* 211; *tre* 197; *feend* 500; *depe* 38; *theef* Fol. 16 c.; *preest* 460; *frendi* Fol. 3 d.; *freend* 268; as in L Ch., Chaucer and Bb.

P. *sijk* 264, 194; *sike* 303; *sijkenes* 303; *sikenes* 213; *sijknes* 507; *fill(e)* (< O. E. *féol)* 66, 285, 286, Fol. 64 a; *felle* only in Fol., e. g. 32 c. L Ch. *sike, syk* (*seke* once). Chaucer: *seek* oftener than *sik*; *fil, fel,* (ten Brink §§ 21 ε, 130). Bb. *sijk*; *syk* (*sekenesse* once); *felle* (Gasner 131).

O. E. *éo* + ȝ, *h.*

P. *lie* 150; *liȝt* 16, 48; cf. Schriftsprache 71, ten Brink § 21 ε, Gasner 132.

O. E. *éo* + *w.*

P. *trewe* (adj.) 66, 68, Fol. 3 a; *treuthe* 10, 11, 515, Fol. 2 b, 3 a; *truthis* 22; *trouthe* 10, 387, 390, 410; *trouthis* Fol. 3 d; *trowe* (vb.) 66; ȝou 68, 70 etc.; *knewe* 349 etc.; *newe* 366, 378 etc.

L Ch.: *trewe; true; trowthe; you; knewe; newe.* Chaucer: *trewe; trouthe; trowen; you; knew; newe.* Bb. *trewe; trewthe; treuthe; ȝou; knewe; newe.*

§ 27. **O. E.** mutated *éa* (W S. *íe, ý*; non-W. S. *é).*

P. *he(e)re* 148 etc.; *nede* (sb.) 307; *nedith* 151, 152; *bileue* 250, Fol. 16 b; *bileuen* 150, 148; *bileueden* 150, 269; *bilyuyng* only 150; *neer* 511; *next* 75, 78, 158.

All the other works have the *e* (*ee*)-vowel, save that *nyxte* appears twice in L Ch.

O. E. *slέfe, slýfe* = P. *slyue* 231; L Ch. and Chaucer *sleeve* (Schriftsprache 61, ten Brink § 23).

B. Consonants.

§ 28. Palatalization of original c, ȝ, sc.

1. c.

a) **O. E.** *ć* = P. *ch* in general, e. g.

α) **Initial** *ć:*

P. *child* 241; *chirche* 27, 563, *cheep* 108; *chese* 184, 137, 174; *chalk* 166; *chaaf* 388; *chaffar* 99, 100; *cheffaring* 16.

β) **Medial** *ć:*

P. *knouleche* 92, 104; *riche* 307 (< O. E. *rice); speche* 433 (< O. E. *spǽc*); *leche* 508; *wirche* 124, 154; *teche* 3;

drenche 274; *wicche* (= N. E. "witch") 563; *strecche* 49, 193, 292; *wrecchid* 86, 100; *wacchis* 561; *fecchen* Fol. 5 d.

k appears in: *seke* only 348 (beside *ch* frequently in: *seche* 125, 304; *sechith* 78, 92, 194; *biseche* 1, 470; *seching* 305; *sechers* 54); *reckid* (past partic.) 182 (otherwise *ch* in: *recche* 7; *recheles* 307, 413); *rekene* 306; *rekened* 278; *thinke* 99, 109; *thenke* 109, 131, 165.

γ) Final *é:*

P. *bench(is)* 129; *ech* 408, 375 etc.; *which* 303, 316 etc.; *such* 304, 307 etc.; *y* (< O. E. *ic*) 63, 102 etc.

O. E. *ȝelíc* (adj.) = P. *lijk* 334, 415 etc.; as suffix *-li*, e. g. *leefulli* 147; *openli* 12; *-liche* only in *nameliche* 415, 354, 41; *nameli* sometimes in Fol., e. g. 3 a, 7 c, 9 a.

b). Loan-words of Germanic origin keep *k*: *kete* 5 (= "bold"); *take* 385 etc.; *meeke* 5 etc.; *lak* 341, 345 etc.; *siker* 8, 76, 91 etc.

From L Ch., Chaucer and Bb. the following forms are given for the sake of comparison (cf. Schriftsprache 93—96): L Ch. *besekyng* (beside *beseche*); *thenken* always; later L Ch. *-ly* (*-lich* once); *I*, *y* (< O. E. *ic*) (Schriftsprache 94, 120, 157). Chaucer: *seechen; biseechen* beside *seeken; biseeken; thenken* beside *thenchen; rekken* beside *recchen; -ly* more usual than *-liche; I* (sometimes *ich*). Cf. ten Brink §§ 113, 118. Bb. *biseche* (Gasner 24, 25); *-li* rarely *-lich* (Gasner 10).

2). ȝ.

a) **O. E.** initial ȝ = P. ȝ, e. g.

P. *ȝeelde* 140; *ȝeue* 5, 14, 17; *ȝift* 282, 283; *ȝouen* 14, 15, 16; *yȝutte* 138; *ȝe* 63, 68; *ȝoure* 63, 69; *vynegerdis* 527; *ȝerde* 424 (= N. E. "rod"); *aȝens* 561; *ȝit* 1; *biȝonde* 281; *ȝondir* 151; *ȝong* 226, 294; *ȝeer* 56, 61.

g appears in: *gate* (= porta) 113; *bigynnyng* 47; and in loan-words of Old Norse origin: *algatis* 130, 188; *gestis* 521; *gete* 67, 68; *bigete* 246; *bigeting* 15 (beside *forȝete* 165, 83; *forȝeting* 236; *forȝetful* 165).

b) **O. E.** *cȝ*.

P. *brigge* 388; *rigge* Fol. 19 c; *ligge* 318, 272 (infin.),

6 (subj.); *liggen* 150, 233 (3 pers. plur.); *liggiṫ* 113; *leggiṫh* (= N. E. "lies") 29; *ligging* 31, 38, 40, 279; Fol. 65 c (beside *lie* 272 (subj.); *lithe* 27, 373; *lijth* 165, 53, 215; *lieth* 150); *bigge* 493, 280, 287 (beside *bie* 303; *abie* 331; *ȝenbie* 261).

Compare with L Ch. *yeue; geue* (in the later L Ch.); *foryeten; forgeten; ygeten; biyng, lyeng; lygge* (once) (Schriftsprache 98, 132). Chaucer: *yiven; foryeten; forgeten; geten; abeggen; abeyen; abyen; lyen;* (ten Brink §§ 120 δ, 123, 114 Anm. 2). Bb. *gete; forȝete; ȝyue; ȝeue;* (Gasner 129); *ligge* beside *lijth; bigge* beside *bie, biyng* (Gasner 26, 116, 110).

3. *sc.*

O. E. *sć* = P. *sch,* e. g.

P. *schal* 4, 6; *schulden* 9, 14; *scheep* 118; *schort* 9, 25; *schewe* 3; *shoned* 227; *schineth* 89; *schuting* 120; *schadew* 118; *fische* 30; *worschipe* 149, 154; *Englisch* 390; *Frensch* 516.

sk is kept in *aske* 443 etc. and in loan-words: *scole* 48, 88; *scoler* 88; *skile* 9, 169; *scant* 184, 530; *skyn* 505; *scornen* 563; *sclaundre* 308; *scripture* 51, 79; *ascapid* 439; *ascaping* 165; *unscapabili* 516 (beside *aschape* 175).

§ 29. O. E. ȝ within the word.

O. E. ȝ becomes *w* after back vowels and consonants, as was the usual development, e. g.

P. *mowen* 8, 74; *drawe* 228, 277; *owne* 57, 59; *folewen* 97; *halewen* 258; (cf. Schriftsprache 157, ten Brink §§ 44, 46, 103 β).

§ 30. O. E. *f.*

O. E. initial *f* > *v* in P. *avorthi* (< O. E. *ȝeforþian*) 562, 336, 377, (not in the other works).

§ 31. O. E. *þ, ð.*

O. E. *þ, ð* when medial between voiced sounds are always kept, e. g. P. *couthe* 347, 78, 89; *brother* 72, 88;

neither 7, 10; *either* 54, 77; (cf. Schriftsprache 106, ten Brink §§ 106, 107)

§ 32. **O. E.** *d.*

O. E. medial *d* is kept, except in P. *wether* 108 (< O. E. *weder*) beside *wedris* 146, 183. (Cf. Schriftsprache 105, ten Brink § 106).

§ 33. *h.*

1. An original initial *h* is dropped in: *an yȝe* 139 (beside *on hiȝe* 139, 205); *ympne* 199; *yperbole* 72; *ypocritis* 484; *ypocrisie* 529, 561.

2. An inorganic *h* appears in *habundaunce* 305, 317; *haboundiden* 337; *habundaunt* 357 and often, *abhominacioun* 87, 149, 207; *happlis* 160 (beside *applis* 160). (Cf. Schriftsprache 100.)

III. Inflections.

§ 34. The Noun.

Weak plurals occur in: P. *hosun* 519; *schoon* 347, 519; *children* 277, 413; *britheren* 298, 505 etc.; *kijn* 259; *oxen* 388; *yȝen* 186 etc. Cf. Schriftsprache 114; ten Brink § 213.

§ 35. The Adjective.

1. **Weak Inflections.**

The final *-e* is often omitted, even in monosyllabic adjectives, e. g.

P. *seid* 43, 338, 415, 309; *oold* 69 (3 times), 40, 119; *hool* 66, 69; *first* 35, 40, 25; but on the other hand: *seide* 318, 25; *oolde* 19; *hoole* 66; *firste* 35, 36, 332, 451.

2. **Strong Inflections.**

The final *-e* of the plural is often dropped, e. g.

P. *good* 331; *greet* 306; *oold* 19; *wijs* 3; but on the other hand: *gode* 66, 467; *grete* 306 (3 times), 104, 324; *wise* 37; *unwise* 109; *oolde* 71, 411.

N.B. The above examples prove that final *-e* was, in many cases at least, employed to denote the length of the preceding vowel. Compare also the subst. *good* 106 and *gode* 106, both of sing. number.

In Chaucer the definite adjective and the strong plural end in *-e,* but the later L Ch. and Bb. do not strictly observe this rule. (Cf. ten Brink § 232, Schriftsprache 116, Trans. of Phil. Soc. 1896, p. 215).

§ 36. The Pronoun.

1. The Personal Pronoun of the 3rd person is inflected in the following way in P.: Sing. nom. *he* 21 etc.; *sche* 230 etc.; *it* 3 etc.; gen. *his* 1 etc.; *hir* 15, 483, 230; *his* 22 etc.; dat. and acc. *him* 87 etc.; *hir* 495, 499, (beside *her* 497); *it* 514 etc.; plur. nom. *thei* 3, 5 etc.; gen. *her* 30 etc.; dat. and acc. *hem* 30, 53 etc.

L Ch. have in the gen., dat. and acc. plur. *her* and *hem* but in the later also *thair, ther* and *theym, them,* (Schriftsprache 158); Chaucer and Bb. have *here* (*hir*) and *hem,* (ten Brink § 250, Gasner 81 sq.).

2. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

P. *this* 12 etc., plur. *these* 8, 72 etc. more rarely *thes* 337, 145, 432, 531; *that* 4 etc., plur. *tho* 1, 69 etc.

The L Ch. have plur. *thise* or *these;* Chaucer *thise* or *thees (thes);* Bb. sing. *this,* plur. *these* (Schriftsprache 158, ten Brink § 252, Gasner 83).

§ 37. The Verb.

The endings of the imperative plur. *(-e)* and 3 sing. pres. ind. *(-eth (-ith))* in P. agree most closely with Bb. (see Gasner 23 sq. and Skeat's above-mentioned article).

IV. Concluding Remarks.

§ 38. Pecock's relation to the other works named may be summarised as follows:

1. P.'s idiom differs from that of L Ch. and of Chaucer, Bb. often being in agreement with P. as follows:

a) A glide has been developed before *-sc* after *a* and *e*, e. g.: *aischis, weischith, fleisch, threisching, neisch,* as in Bb. This was chiefly a characteristic of Midland (cf. Morsbach, Gr. § 87, Anm. 3 and § 109, Anm. 8).

b) α. The *ĕ*-vowel in L Ch. and in Chaucer sometimes corresponds to *i* in P., e. g. P. *stide, britheren, silf, sille* (all in Bb.) and *wirche, gist, fil,* (only in P., except *fil* sporadically in Chaucer). Most of these forms existed in O. E. (*styde, sylf, syllan, wyrcan).*

β. The *i*-vowel in L Ch., Chaucer and Bb. appears occasionally as *e* in P. e. g.: *sengil, undirnemen, leggith, sekir.*

For the change of M. E. $e > i$ and $i > e$ in all districts cf. Morsbach, Gr. §§ 109, 114 Anm. 1, 115 Anm. 2.

c) O. E. *ŭ* is, as a rule, kept in P. and Bb. before *n*-combinations, whereas L Ch. and Chaucer have *o.*

d) O. E. *y* (< Germanic *u*) appears in P. and Bb. generally as *i (y),* which was the regular Midland representative of the vowel. P. *sterers, steryngis, ungerd* may also represent Midland dialect (see Morsbach, Gr. §§ 130, 129 Anm. 2.).

e) P. *aȝen, eelde* (adj.) = Bb.; P. *schulde* = Bb. L Ch. have *shulde* and *sholde.* P. *bigge, ligge* also in Bb.

f) P. *avorthi,* a Southern form without correspondence in any of the other works.

g) The verbal terminations in P. agree best with Bb. Cf. § 37 and Skeat's above-mentioned article.

2. P. corresponds in a few cases more closely to L Ch. or Chaucer than to Bb., e. g. P. *lasse, eny (any), neithir, wommen* (*wymmen* only in Fol. and perhaps owing to the scribe), *buried.*

It will be seen from the above comparison that Pecock really shows the distinguishing features of the literary language emanating from London; but that Pecock and the Bible possess certain characteristics of their own in regard to dialect and orthography that the

London language does not embrace; these characteristics are found for the most part to coincide in the Bible and in Pecock, their points of difference being very few in number (such as P. *wirche* and the Southern forms *kessiden, buried, avorthi*[1]). When the circumstance is taken into consideration that Pecock did not employ the dialect of his native district, Wales, and that he received his scientific training wholly at Oxford, where Wycliffe had resided about half a century before, it seems at any rate very reasonable to assume with Skeat that the peculiarities that are found to be common to the writings of Pecock and the Wycliffite Bible are characteristic for that locality.

[1] For other traces of Southern dialect in Pecock compare Inflections of the Verb §§ 47, 57.

Part II.

INFLECTIONS AND SYNTAX OF THE VERB.

I. Inflections.

Chapter I.

Tense-formation in Strong Verbs.

The classification is that given by Sievers, Ags. Gr. § 381 sqq. Conjectural infinitives are put in round brackets, weak forms are marked by square brackets.

§ 39. Class I.

Infin.	Pret. Sing.	Pret. Plur.	Past Partic.
abide 238[1]	*abode* 281	*aboden* 19, Fol. 14 a *abode* 19	*abide* 387
dryue 128			*dryuen* 42, *dryue* 253
ride 303	*rode* 374		
rise 38	*roos* 39	*roosen* 497	
smyte 488			*smyte* 52
(slide)			*sliden* Fol. 18 c
write 255	*wrote* 55, 62		
	wroot 55, 61 (9 times) 483, 320.	*wroten* 61, 108	*writen* 61 *write* 25 *writun* 60 *wrytun* 423

[1] In this list, as well as in the list of irregular weak verbs in § 50, the frequency with which the forms occur is not definitely noted except in cases of special importance.

§ 40. Class II.

forbede 275	*forbade* 279, 523		*forboden* 291 *forbodun* 457 *forbode* 279, Fol. 59 b
chese 88, Fol. 35 d	*chose* 185 *chas* 349 *chaas* 349 *chase* 349, 278 (3 times)	*chosen* 332	*chosun* 559 *chose* 112, 235 *chosen* Fol. 39 c
ȝe(e)te)			*ȝut* 163, 164 *yȝutte* 138

§ 41. Class III.

binde 317	*bonde* 317		*bounden* 317 *bounde* 310, Fol. 59 a *bound* 556, Fol. 2 a, 59 a *bonde* only 297
drinke 527		*dranken* 319	*drunke* 122
fynde 242	*fonde* 365, Fol. 30 c	*fonden* 242 *founde* 504	*foundun* 192 *founde* 534
grynde Fol. 76 b			*grounden* Fol. 76 b
bigyn(nyng) 47	*biganne* 540		*bigunne* 508
schrinke 347	*schranke* 347		
singe 120		*sungen* 205	*sungun* 199
winne 304		*wannen* Fol. 79 a	*wonne* 412 *wunne* 409
helpe 228	[*helpid* 337]		*holpun* 382 *holpe* 284
fiȝte 257			*fouȝt* 514
(kerue)			*coruun* 163 *coruen* 212
(worthe)			*worthe* only 516

§ 42. Class IV.

bere 2	*bare* 500, Fol. 48 a	*baren* 530	*born* 203
beere 151			*borne* 205
			bore 205
forbere 228			*forborn* 554
			forborne 555
			forbore 228
breke 548	*brake* 147, 254		*brokun* 147, Fol. 48 a
			broke 147
come 94	*came* 102	*camen* 278, Fol. 14 c	*come* 149
bicome 397	*bicame* 359		
undirnyme 2			*undirnome* 2
scher(yng) 120			*schorne* 532
speke 202	*spak* 23, 202	*spaken* 246	*spoken* 51
	spake 24, 350, Fol. 33 b		*spoke* 226
stele 344	*stale* 135		
tere Fol. 76 b			*toren* Fol. 76 b
[*were* 123]	[*werid* 532]	[*weriden* 124]	*worn* 543
			worne 347

§ 43. Class V.

ete 526	*eete* Fol. 17 c	*eten* 342	*ete* 526
gete 507	*gate* 226		*geten* 105, Fol. 6 b
			getun 42
			goten only in Fol. e. g. 20 d
forȝete 163			*forȝete* 83
ȝeue 5	ȝaf 332	ȝauen 281	ȝeuun 338, 98
ȝiue only 168	ȝaue 211, Fol. 64 c	ȝauun 459	ȝeue 98
			ȝouun 68, Fol. 31 d
			ȝouen 23, Fol. 2 a
			ȝoue 74

(biquethe)	*biquathe* 361		
weue 139			*wouun* 150
se 74	*sige* 34, 425 Fol. 76 a	*sigen* Fol. 32 b	*seen* 186
	sie 186	*sien* 187	
	sawe Fol. 14 b	*sawen* 246	
	sauge 305		
bidde 112	*bade* 138	*baden* 446	*beden* 23
	bede 22[1], Fol. 75 a		*bedun* 111
			bede 115
ligge 272	*lay* 56		
sitte 123	*sate* 300		
	saat 196		

§ 44. Class VI.

bake 118			*bake* 67
drawe 228	*drowe* 194		*drawun* 163
			drawe 277
(graue)			*grauen* only 140, otherwise [*graued* 169 etc.]
forsake 308	*forsoke* 315		*forsakun* 550
			forsake 547
take 3	*took* 353	*token* 145	*taken* 52
	toke 329	*tooken* 67	*takun* 278, Fol. 2 a
			take 186, Fol. 34 a
			tak 57
(wake)	*woke* 224		
wexe 342	*wexe* 342	[*waxiden* 243]	
	waxe Fol. 51 b		
	[*wexid* 334, 342]		
(schape)			*schapun* 221

[1] This is the only instance where this form occurs with an *e*-vowel in Rp.

slee 540		*slain* 56, *slein* 564
stonde 93	*stood* 11	
	stode 11	
(undirstonde)	*undirstode* 55	*undirstonde* 303
swere 564		*forsworen* 516

§ 45. Reduplicating Verbs.

(beete)		*beten* Fol. 17 c
		beete Fol. 17 c
		bete Fol. 17 c
(blowe)	*blewe* Fol. 10 b	
falle 87	*fille* 285, Fol. 64 a	*falle* 9
	fill 286, *fil* 66	
	felle Fol. 32 c	
bifalle 469	*bifille* 447	
growe 347	*grewe* 347	*growen* 517
hange 197	*henge* 199	[*hangid* 238, 221]
	heng 139	
(bihete)	*bihiȝte* 404	*bihiȝt* 404
holde 8	*helde* 494	*holden* 10, Fol. 15 c
	helden Fol. 5 d	*holde* 5, Fol. 15 a
		hold 144
knowe 10	*knewe* 349	*knowen* 21
		knowun 53
		knowe 15, Fol. 34 a
lete 90, 160	*lete* 355	*lete* 158
(sowe)	*sewen* 319	
(throwe)	*threwe* 260	*throwun* 86

§ 46. General Remarks.

1) As a rule, the pret. plur. is assimilated to the pret. sing. In Class III, however, the original plural

vowel may either be kept *(founden, sungen),* or replaced by the singular vowel *(dranken, fonden, wannen) chose* (pret. sing. of Class II) exhibits the vowel of the pret. plur. and the past partic.

2) Confusion between the strong and the weak conjugations is frequent, cf. the following:

Many of the originally strong verbs have gone over to the weak conjugation. Some of them had already become weak in Chaucer (cf. ten Brink §§ 160, 167): *creepe* 207: *crepiden* 269; *leese* 229, Fol. 94 c: *lost* (past partic.) 307, Fol. 97 b; *fle* 315: *fledden* 318: *fled* (past partic.) 515; *drede* 331: *drad* 249 (past partic.); *reede* 52: *rad* (past partic.) 26, *red* 59, 203, 208.

Besides these verbs the following may also be noted: *(stie): stied* (pret.) 60; *waische* 124: *waischid* (pret.) 468; *lauȝe* 156, 120, *lauȝwe* 120, *lawȝe* 156: *lauȝed* (pret.) 120; *helpe* 228: *helpid* (pret.) 337 (also in Caxton and Paston Letters, cf. Römstedt 43, Blume, Paston Letters 30): *holpe* (past partic.) 284; *wexe* 342: *wexid* (pret.) 342, 334 or *wexe* 342; *graued* (past partic.) 144, 173, 140, once *grauen* 140.

Were, originally a weak verb, exhibits the strong participle *worn(e)* 347, 543. *Caste* has once *casten* (past partic.) Fol. 56 d.

3) Syncopated participles appear in: *born* 200, 258, *borne* 205; *forborn* 554, *forborne* 555; *schorne* 532; *worn* 543.

Chapter II.

Tense-formation in Weak Verbs.

The classification is that of ten Brink §§ 161 sqq.

§ 47. Present Tense.

1) The suffix *i, j* of the 2nd conjugation in O. E. has generally disappeared, as in Chaucer. There are only a few remnants, which may be traces of a Southern dialect (see Morsbach, Gr. § 9): *tilieth* 228, *tilien* 275 beside *tile* (infin.) 527, *tiling* (pres. partic.) 288

(< O. E. *tilian, tilode*); *bisien* 53 (< O. E. *byszian, -ode*); *avorthi* 562, 336, 377 (< O. E. *ȝeforthian, -ode*); *wyncy* 254 (< O. E. *wincian, -ode*).

2) Verbs with O. E. *bb, cȝ* have, as a rule, levelled their forms in agreement with those whose stem originally ends in a single consonant, e. g. *haue* 1; *leie* 52, 145; *seie* 16. But there are verbs which exhibit forms of both types: *bie* 303, *aȝenbie* 261, *abie* 331 beside *bigge* 493 etc. (similarly *ligge* (pres. subj.) 6, beside *lie* 272). For full statistics see Part I Consonants § 28, 2 b.

§ 48. Preterite Tense.

1) The preterite formed with a connecting vowel (in Pecock *e* or *i*, cf. § 51). This kind of preterite has gained ground since Chaucer's time. It thus appears in the following groups:

a) in Class I A:

werid 532; *weriden* 124; *dwellid* 21; *dwelliden* 436, (Chaucer: *dwelled(e), dwelte*); *lyued(e)* 316, 317, 438.

N.B. settid(e) 461, 127, 530, 300; *bisettid* 295; *lettiden* 245 (Chaucer: *sette, lette*).

b) in the following verbs of Class I B:

feelid 243, 308; *feelide* Fol. 16 c; *meened* 513, 339, 442; *mengid* 242; *kessiden* 270; *kissiden* 270; *bisemed* 552; *deemed* 244; *wenede* Fol. 51 c; *weeneden* 141; *bileuyde* Fol. 7 a (Chaucer has syncope, except in *deemed(e), seemed(e)*).

c) in Class II:

askid(e) 362, 346; *trowid(e)* 320, Fol. 7 b; *clepid* 527, 366; *loued* 322, 434; *clothid* 138; *answeride* 97; *folewiden* 248.

d) in the following verbs which have gone over from the strong to the weak conjugation:

wexid 342, *waxiden* 243; *helpid* 337; *crepiden* 269.

e) in verbs derived from foreign languages:

Germanic: *happid* 518; *biclippid* 217; *died* 504, 353; *lackid* 95.

Romanic: *suffrid* 504; *moued* 307; *preyed* 305 etc.

Verbs whose stem ends in *-d, -t* may especially be noted: *bildid* 443; *castid* Fol. 48 a; *puttid* 526, 434; *kuttiden* 534; *hurtid* 227; *pointiden* 552.

2) The preterite formed without a connecting vowel. This kind of preterite appears:

a) in the following verbs of Class I A which had no connecting vowel in O. E.: *bouȝte* 488; *toold* 353; *leide* 224; *seide* 63, 196 etc.; *hadde* 312 etc.

b) in those verbs of Class I B which even in the Teutonic period had no connecting vowel (*thouȝte* 102; *wrouȝte* 342; *brouȝt* 198; *tauȝten* 31); and in some other verbs of the same class, those ending in *-d, -t* being especially to be noted; these are: *ladde* 35; *sende* 360; *senden* 376; *wenten* 328, 493; *mette* 203; *herde* 221, *herden* 357, 401; *kepten* 50; *lefte* 325.

c) in the verb *made* 518 etc. of Class II.

d) in the originally strong verb *fledden* 318. Preterites of the verbs *drede, rede, leese* do not occur.

§ 49. Past Participle.

The past participle is generally formed on analogy with the preterite tense. Thus:

1) *-ed, -id* is added to the stem:

a) in Class I A: *stirid* 266; *lyued* 114; *lettid* 171, Fol. 8 b, 14 c.

b) in the following verbs of Class I B: *feelid* 30; *meened* 390; *deemed* 106; *kissid* 562; *mengid* Fol. 7 c (Chaucer: *felt, ment, kist* : *deemed*).

c) in Class II: *loued* 135; *clepid* 26, Fol. 6 d; *folewid* 236; *lokid* 77; *answerid* 273; *schewid* 36; *woned* 29; *clothid* 370.

d) in verbs derived from foreign languages: Scand. *wellid* 173; Romanic, e. g. *plesid* 270; *prechid* 61; *baptisid* 353; *pointid* 125, 184; *prentid* 18.

2) *-d(e)* or *-t(e)* is added to the stem:

a) in the following verbs of Class I A that had

no connecting vowel in O. E.: *solde* 493; *streiȝt* 269, 270; *toold* 122; *leid* 158; *seid(e)* 172, 200 etc.; *had* 476 etc.

b) in those verbs of Class I B which had no connecting vowel in the Teutonic period: *brouȝt* 99; *thouȝt* 164; *wrouȝt* 229; *souȝt* 433; *tauȝt* 253;

and in some other verbs of the same class, those ending in *-d*, *-t* being especially to be noted; these are: *hid* 54; *led* 217; *lad* 307; *sende* 174, 364; *sped* 372; *spende* 87; *spred* 216; *sprad* 213; *mett* 237; *brend* 29; *brent* 17; *herd(e)* 208, 253; *kept* 71; *left* 182.

c) in the verb *ma(a)d* 30, 203 etc. of Class II.

d) in the originally strong verbs *lost* 307; *fled* 515; *drad* 249; *rad* 26; *red* 59.

Note 1. The following participles without preterite forms to them are also to be noted in Pecock: *knyȝt* 82; *groundid* 29, 125 or *ground* 29 (= N. E. "ground" w. v.); *sched* 563; *dod* 135 (= "clipped short"); *cauȝte* Fol. 51 c.

Note 2. Some participles of verbal stems ending in *-d*, *-t* do not correspond to their preterites: *sett(e)* 527, 92; *bisett* 273; *cast* 513, 306 or *castid* 53; *hurt* Fol. 14 d or *hurtid* 110; *putt(e)* 9, 227; *kutte* 515 (twice), 503.

Telle has once the partic. *tellid* Fol. 37 d, and *strecche* the partic. *strecchid* 280.

Note 3. Participles adopted from Latin participles in *-t-*, sometimes appear in the Latin form, sometimes with the ending *-ed* added to it, e. g. *exempt* 451 beside *exemptid* 451; *expropriat* 477; *conuictid* 128 (with the infin. *conuicte* 128); *instructid* 248, 253; *obstinat* 129; *prostrate* 169; *temperat* 34; *subordinat* 51; *separat*[1] 34 *(separat and departid atwynne facultees); habituat* Fol. 74 d.

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[1] Cf. Skeat, Etym. Dict. p. 540: "We should have expected to find *separate* first used as a past participle in the sense 'set apart', but I do not find that such was the case. Levins, Shakespeare and Minsheu recognise only the verb, which occurs as early as Tyndale. Der. *separate* adj." This example from Pecock proves that the past participle is earlier than other forms of the verb.

§ 49 a. The O. E. prefix ȝe of weak participles occurs in: *yclepid* 16; *ydoon* Fol. 36 a; *yhad* Fol. 53 a; *ymanerid* Fol. 37 c; *ygendrid* Fol. 40 c.

§ 50. Comprehensive list of verbs which do not exhibit full forms (ending in *-ed*, *-id*) in the preterite or participle.

(Conjectural infinitives are put in brackets, non-syncopated forms are put in spaced type).

Class I A.

bigge 280, 493	*bouȝte* 488	
bie 303		
ȝenbie 261		
abie 331		
haue 1	*hadde* 322	*had* 476
	had 60	
leie 145	*leide* 224	*leid* 158
seie 163	*seide* 63	*seid* 172
seye 16, *sei* 62	*seid* 434	*seide* 200, 179
sille 288		*solde* 493
strecche 292		*streiȝt* 269, 270, 272
		strecchid 280
telle 353	*toold* 353	*toold* 122, Fol. 20 c
		tellid only Fol. 37 d
		knyȝt 82, *knyt* 82
sette 102	*settide* 461	*sett* 92, 41; Fol. 6 c
	settid 530, 127	*set* 504; *seet* 3
		sette 26, 39, 493, 527

Class I B.

bringe 97	*brouȝt* 198	*brouȝt* 99
		brouȝte 513
seche 125, 304		*souȝt* 77, 433

seke 348		
biseche 470 (1st plur.)		
thinke 165, 99, 109, 238	*thouȝte* 488, 102	*thouȝt* 164
thenke 165, 109, 131, 282		
bithinke 114 (pres. subj.)	*bithouȝte* 109, Fol. 75 b	
bithenke 69, 108 (2nd plur. subj.), 166 (infin.)		
teche 3	*tauȝten* 31	*tauȝt* 253
wirche 124	*wrouȝte* 342	*wrouȝt* 229
		hid 54, Fol. 59 c
lede 42	*ladde* 35	*lad* 307, Fol. 19 c
		led 109, 217; Fol. 6 c
(sende)	*sende* 360	*send* 174
		sende 364
		sent 360, Fol. 2 a
(spede)		*sped* 362
spende 283		*spende* 87
sprede 129		*sprad* 213; Fol. 80 a
		spred 216
(wende)	*wende* 328	
meete 269	*mette* 203	*mett* 237
(brenne)		*brend* 29
		brent 17, 86
heere 274	*herde* 221	*herd* 208
here 273		*herde* 253, Fol. 9 d
		heerd Fol. 44 d
kepe 544	*kepte* 225	*kept* 71; Fol. 6 b, 75 b
	kept Fol. 79 d	
leue 537	*lefte* 325	*left* 525
leeue 217		*lefte* 517

Class II.

make 103	*made* 518	*maad* 30 *made* 106 *mad* 202

Verbs Originally Strong:

drede 331		*drad* 249, Fol. 67 c *dred* Fol. 20 c
reede 52 *rede* 208		*rad* 26, 213, Fol. 8 a *red* 59, 203, 208, *radde* Fol. 13 b *redde* Fol. 4 b
fle 315 *leese* 229	*fledden* 318	*fled* 515 *lost* 307

Verbs derived from Foreign Languages:

caste 518	*castid* Fol. 48 a	*castid* 53 *cast* 513, 306, Fol. 67 d *casten* Fol. 56 d
(schedde)		*sched* 563
kutte 153	*kuttiden* 534	*kutt* 503 *kut* 515 *kutte* 515
putte 305	*puttid* 526, 434	*putt* 9 *putte* 227
(hurte)	*hurtid* 227	*hurt* Fol. 14 c *hurtid* 110, Fol. 77 c
cacche Fol. 20 b		*cauzte* Fol. 51 c

Chapter III.

Verbal Endings.

§ 51. Present Indicative.

1st sing. *-e,* e. g. *answere* 522; apocope in *send* 127.

2nd sing. *-est, -ist, -yst,* for examples see below. Syncope in *seist* 172 etc. Obs. *hast* 175 etc.

3rd sing. *-eth, -ith, -yth;* for examples see below. Syncope in *seith* 16, 198 etc.; *lijth* 165 (but *lieth* 150); *deemth* 450; *leie* appears without syncope in *leieth* 258. Obs. *hath* 95 etc.

1—3 plur *-e(n), -un, -yn. -en* is the regular ending. e. g. *bidden* 23; *hauen* 390 (beside *han* 410, 101 etc.); *exorten* 23; *rehercen* 38; *remembren* 23; *asken* Fol. 6 c. Apocope of *n* occurs rarely: *gouerne* 202; *haue* 87; but in this case it is often impossible to state whether the indicative or the subjunctive form occurs; cf. *lyue* 489; *gouerne* 105. *-un* is found in Rp. in: *holdun* 117; *takun* 331; *writun* 410; *forbedun* 457; *-yn* only in *takyn* 159.

The choice of *e* or *i* in the endings of the 2nd and 3rd sing. present tense, as well as in *-est (-ist)* and *-ed (-id)* of the preterite and the past participle, is regulated by certain orthographical rules.

1) In the Repressor:

a) The terminations *-est, -eth, -ed* are added to verbal stems ending in *-i, -u, -m, -n,* e. g. (after *i): paied* 552; *died* 504, 353; *preied* 305; *varied* 93; *assaieth* 109; *signified* 163; *signifieth* 390; (after *u*): *lyued* 316, 317, 438; *loued* 322, 434; *argued* 162; *deserued* 262; *ȝeueth* 1; *louest* 558; *ȝauest* 520; *reproued* 562; *proued* 531; *lyueden*[1] 376. (after *-m, -n*): *seemeth* 532; *diffameden* 343; *blamest* 3; *undirnymest* 3; *bisemed* 552; *cometh* 79; *unwem-*

[1] *ȝeuith* 264, *ȝeuyth* 264 and *prouid* 264 occur where erasures have been made and are not written by the original scribe. See Rp. foot-note p. 264.

med 478; *meened* 513, 339, 442; *meeneth* 263; *leerned* 47; *inpungned* 254; *woned* 263; *weerneth* 476; *examyned* 483. Only exception noted: *seruiden* 18.

b) If the stem ends in *-l, -r, -ȝ, -g, -d,* this orthographical rule is not so strict: *willith* 473; *reulid* 76; *feelid* 243, 308; *dwellid* 21; *dwelliden* 436; *pullid* 467; but *willed* 473; *willeden* 447; *feleden* 448; *bigiled* 76, 100; *bigileden* 245.

suffrid 504; *cumbrid* 85, 560; *requirith* 92; *outrid* 90; *berith* 363; *barist* 200; *answeride* 97; *gaderid* 262; *fortherith* 263; *stirid* 821; but *required* 506; *delyuered* 61; *stireth* 177; *couered* 370, 54, 62; *tempereth* 413.

hangith 17; *fyndist* 49; *groundist* 6; *groundid* 125; but *lauȝed* 120; *hangeth* 17; *bringeth* 46; *fyndeth* 48; *rideth* 487.

c) If the stem ends in another consonant *i* alone is found in the termination: *techith* 95; *knoulechid* 92; *conuertid* 532; *peruertiden* 343; *lettith* 486; *schewith* 95; *foleωith* 95; *takith* 2; *askist* 518; *lackid* 95; *thinkith* 78; *clepith* 527, 366; *happid* 518; *worschipiden* 198; *sufficith* 199; *punyschid* 254; *witnessith* 526. Only exception noted: *conuicteth* 94.

2) In the Follower:

Here there is the same tendency to avoid *i* in the terminations of verbs whose stem ends in *-i, -u, -m, -n,* in which cases the scribe writes *e* or *y* (after *i* apparently only *e*). Only a few exceptions have been noted: *seenith* 3 d and *meenist* 47 c. Examples are:

(after *i*) *araied* 4 a; *studied* 4 b; *edified* 4 c; *assaied* 4 b; *purveieth* 10 c; *purveied* 13 a; *caried* 14 a; *specified* 86 d.

(after *u*) *ȝeueth* 2 a; *perceyueth* 15 a; *bihoueth* 81 b; *serueth* 15 d; *lyuyth* 20 d; *bilyuyde* 7 a; *dryuyth* 5 b; *receyuyd* 5 b.

(after *m*) *semeth* 6 c, 13 b; *formede* 9 b; *demeth* 15 b; *semyth* 4 d, 5 a, 12 d; *foormyd* 4 a; *enformyd* 3 d; *comyth* 15 c.

(after *n*) *bigynneth* 2 a; *repugneth* 12 d; *quykeneth* 8 c; *conteyneth* 5 b; *leerneth* 8 a; *turneth* 14 a; *conteynyd* 5 b; *leernyd* 3 d, 5 b; *turnyd* 14 a; *openyd* 9 c; *synnyth* 20 d.

After other letters than *i, u, m, n* the scribe generally writes *i*, e. g. *ablid* 8 a; *dwellith* 8 c; *delyuerid* 4 d; *gendrid* 8 c; *cleerid* 8 a; *desiriden* 20 d; *longith* 2 b; *concludid* 5 d; *concludith* 5 b; *liftid* 8 a; *writith* 5 b; *knowith* 5 c; *tokist* 69 a; *askist* 21 c; *sufficith* 86 d; *witnessith* 5 b.

e is very rarely found: *dureth* 8 c; *profitede* 71 a; *sufficeth* 86 d.

In Part I §§ 1, 37, 38 this variation of vowel in the verbal terminations has been already touched upon in reference to Skeat's article in Trans. Phil. Soc. 1896. The endings with *i*-vowel are, as Skeat says, one of "the most distinctive marks of the dialect" of Wycliffe's Bible. Curtis in Anglia XVII, 55 describes M.E. *e* and *i* in this way: "the *i* and the *e* were nōt pure *(i)* and *(e)*, but ... *i* represented a more open sound than strict *(i)*, approaching to *e*... and *e* was often in M.E. a more closed sound than strict *e*, approaching to *i*". This is said with regard to stressed vowels and can with all the greater reason be applied to unstressed ones. Now the vowel which is apparently most used in the endings in Pecock is *i;* but owing to the unsettled pronunciation of *e* and *i* (already noted in stressed syllables in Pecock, see § 38), *e* could also be used and is mostly used in Rp. (side by side with *y* in Fol.) for the sake of distinctness. That this is the real reason appears, for instance, from the fact that in the MS. of Rp. (see Babington's Facsimile) *i* is generally undotted (e. g. *apaied*), except before *n* or *u* (e. g. *in, þing ūiustli*); in Fol. *i* before *n* is usually dotted, e. g. *ín* 10 b; but, as a rule, *i* does not occur in this position, being in general supplanted by *y* in the neighbourhood of *n, m, u* (cf. *opynyoun, kynde, ymage, oonys, euydencis*, all: 10 b). With regard to Wycliffe's Bible the same orthographical rule is evidently

observed. There is not one verbal form mentioned in Skeat's article nor in Gasner's work (cf. Gasner 15—17, 28—36) that contains an *i* in the termination, when the stem ends in *-i, -u, -m, -n*. An examination of the first ten chapters of Matthew, "later version", gives the same result, there being 25 instances of *e* to 7 of *y* in the abovementioned set of verbs and 28 *i* to 3 *e* in other verbs.

§ 52. Present Subjunctive.

1—3 sing. *-e;* plur. *-e*[1], e. g.:
2 sing. *bere* 339; *seie* 317; *take* 3.
3 sing. *bere* 341; *bidde* 15; *take* 3.
1 plur. *speke* 82; 2 plur. *seie* 253; 3 plur. *repe* 383; *make* 190; *lese* 307; *bileeue* Fol. 16 c.
Apocope is found in: *lett* 533; *worschip* 154; *turn* 495.
Obs. 3rd sing. *lassee* 345; *wrongee* 70.

§ 53. Imperative.

Sing. and plur. *-e,* e. g.:
sing. *seie* 16; *blame* 3.
plur. *take* 87; *drede* 87.
Apocope in *let* 41 (beside *lete* 41).

§ 54. Infinitive.

The infinitive ends in *-e*.
Obs. *agree* 252; *quykee* 237; *lothee* 342; *cleree* 72.
Apocope is not very rare: *know* 125; *lack* 507; *open* 544; *bitoken* 144; *deem* 106; *sett* 55, 78; *consent* 29; *cast* 160; *trust* 232; *accord* 26; *point* 236; *answer* 558; *forber* 78; *sei* 62.

§ 55. Present Participle.

The present participle ends in *-ing* or *-yng*.
In Rp. *-yng* is put after *i, u, n: seiyng* 561; *studiyng* 59; *lyuyng* 484, 517; *hauyng* 507; *arguyng* 99; *bigynnyng* 47, 40; *prisonyng* 57; *leernyng* 59.

[1] For the ending *-en* compare the plur. of the present indicative § 51.

All other verbs end in *-ing*. Instances abound. *-yng* occurs only in *writyng* 55.

Obs. *blamying* 563; *comying* 377; *seijng* 356; *storijng* 530; *lyuying* 519.

In Fol. *-yng* is used in all verbs, e. g. *makyng* 3 b; *coueryng* 6 a; *usyng* 7 a; *defendyng* 60 d; *fyndyng* 23 d.

§ 56. Preterite Indicative and Subjunctive.

1) The endings, which are added to the tense-forming element, are as follows:

1st and 3rd sing. *(-e)*.

2nd sing. *-est, -ist*.

1—3 plur. *-e(n), -un*.

(For examples compare §§ 48, 51).

In the 3rd plur. the final *-n* is occasionally dropped, e. g. *knowe* 14; *abode* 19; *toke* 30; *biganne* 41; *founde* 504; *bare* 11; *stode* 11. *-en* is dropped in *devisid* 504.

-un occurs in Rp. in: *ȝauun* 459; *writun* 410.

2) The final *-e*.

a) Strong Verbs.

The final *-e* in strong verbs seems mostly to have an orthographical function.

α) It denotes the length of the root-vowel. In this case a single root-vowel + final *-e* is the substitution for a double root-vowel without final *-e*, e. g. *wrote* 55, 61 (9 times): *wroot* 55, 62; *toke* 329: *took* 353; *stode* 11: *stood* 11 (cf. *made* 106: *maad* 30, but also *mad* 202; *lithe* 27, beside *lijth* 165).

β) Final *-e*, added to a short root-vowel + double-consonant corresponds to a short root-vowel + single consonant without final *-e*[1], e. g. *biganne* 540; *fille* 285; *bifille* 447; *fil* 66 (cf. *hadde* 322; *had* 60; *crosse* 266; *cros* 266; *badde* 5; *bad* 95). — Exception: *fill* 286.

γ) This final *-e* occurs also in verbs whose stem terminates in a consonant-group, probably on analogy

[1] For similar orthography in other Middle English writers cf. Morsbach, Gr. § 17 Anm. 1, and Baldwin, §§ 158, 159.

with the weak preterite, e. g. *schranke* 346; *bihiʒte* 276; *bonde* 317; *fonde* 365; *henge* 199, but *heng* 139.

δ) It appears from the above examples that thorough consistency does not prevail with regard to the addition of the final *-e*. As to the preterites *spake, bare, brake, came, stale, bade, ʒaue, gate, sate, chase* (by the side of *spak, ʒaf, chas*) an exact statement cannot be given about the quantity of their root-vowels. It seems most probable however that the quantity is long, firstly because there is no preterite with a vowel incontestably short terminating in a single consonant + final *-e* (agreeing with a form **spăke);* secondly because preterites with double root-vowels occur: *saat* 196, *chaas* 349, and thirdly because the forms: *spake, bare, brake, came, sate, gave* are pronounced in N. E. with long root-vowels (cf. Mätzner I, 354 sqq.)

b) Weak Verbs.

The following statements may be adduced:

α) In the verbs where the medial vowel *e, i* is not dropped, a final *-e* is very often not written: *werid* 532; *dwellid* 21; *trowid* 320; *clepid* 527, 366; *askid* 346, 362 (beside *askide* 362); *lyued* 438 (beside *lyuede* 316); *entrid* 532 (beside *entride* 357); *suffrid* 497, 83, 504 (beside *suffride* 317); *descendid* 245; *ensaumplid* 310 (and most of the Romanic verbs without *-e* in Rp.); *felid* 243, 308; *meened* 513, 339, 442 (and all the verbs of Class I B without *-e* in Rp.); *wexid* 342; *helpid* 337; *happid* 518; *biclippid* 271 etc.

β) Verbs which syncopate the medial vowel, generally keep the final *-e* in Class I B in Rp., but verbs of other groups often drop it: *lefte* 325; *herde* 221; *wente* 328; *mette* 203; *ladde* 35; *sende* 360; *toold* 353; *seide* 63 (beside *seid* 434); *bouʒte* 488; *brouʒt* 198.

Consequently what is certain, is that the final *-e* was not sounded in verbs which kept their medial vowel (cf. Morsbach, Gr. § 71, ten Brink, §§ 256, 194).

§ 57. Past Participle.

1) The past participle of strong verbs ends in *-en, -e,* or *-un.* The ending *-e* is as common as *-en* and appears without any regard to the beginning of the following word. For examples see §§ 39—45[1].

2) As regards the final *-e* in strong and weak verbs, it will be noticed that *-e* is very often added in verbs where it is not etymologically justified, e. g. *borne* 205; *schorne* 532; *worne* 347; *herde* 253; *lefte* 158; *sende* 364; *seide* 200, 179; *sette* 527, 403; *solde* 493; *tauȝte* 427; *caste* 122; *putte* 227; *kutte* 545 and even *baptiside* 500; *turnede* 557; and that an original *-e* is dropped in *tak* 57; *hold* 144; *bound* 556.

It consequently appears that this final *-e* was only a sort of ornamental ending which was not sounded, and that strong participles such as: *write, take, bounde, bede, knowe, holpe* were pronounced as only one-syllabled words, just as the above-mentioned *tak, bound, hold.* Compare Chaucer, where the final *-e* is likewise mute (ten Brink § 260 γ).

Chapter IV.

Anomalous and Preterite-Present Verbs.

§ 58. *go:* Pres. Indic. 3rd sing. *gooth* 101, *goith* 237, *gothe* 299; Pres. Subj. sing. *go* 175, 113; plur. *go* 236; Imp. plur. *go we* 30; Infin. *go* 125; Pres. Partic. *goyng* 167, *going* 476; Past Partic. *goon* 204; Pret. *wente* 328.

do: Pres. Indic. 2nd sing. *doost* 63, 68; 3rd sing. *dooth* 9, *doith* 223, *doth* 34; plur. *doon* 96; Pres. Subj. sing. *do* 2; plur. *do* 416, *doon* 416. Imp. plur. *do ȝe* 198; Infin. *do* 96; Pres. partic. *doing* 237; Past Partic. *doon* 111, *doun* 111, *don* 13,

[1] Apocope of *n* in the strong past participle was a characteristic of the Southern district. The earlier L Ch. and Chaucer had often apocope, whereas in the later L Ch. and in the Wycliffite Bible it was of comparatively rare occurrence. (Cf. Schriftsprache 159, ten Brink § 196, Gasner 34.)

do 1, 339, 236; Pret. sing. *dide* 34, *didist* 259; plur. *diden* 96.

be: Pres. Indic. sing. *am* 6; *art* 442, 64; *is* 1; plur. *ben* 1, 253, *be* 319, 468; Pres. Subj. sing. *be* 8, 186; plur. *ben* 8, 179, *be* 186, 182; Imp. sing. *be* 72, 88, 63; plur. *be ȝe* 252; Infin. *be* 2; Pres. Partic. *beyng* 44, *being* 1. Pret. Indic. 2nd sing. *were* 151, 261; 3rd sing. *was* 205; plur. *weren* 279, *were* 30; Pret. Subj. sing. *were* 182, 25; plur. *weren* 28, *were* 182, 7, 95. Past Partic. *be* 216.

wole: Pres. Indic. 1st sing. *wole* 167; 2nd sing. *wolt* 150, 172, *wolte* 175; 3rd sing. *wole* 149, 114, 300; plur. *wolen* 307, 171, 214, *wollen* 123; Infin. *wole* Fol. 39 b; Pret. *wolde* 143, *wold* 307, *woldist* 123.

Note 1. *nyle, nile* occurs 52, 98, 428, Fol. 9 d and in a few other places.

Note 2. *wole* is to be distinguished from *wille* (< O. E. *willian* w. v. of Class II). The verb *wille* occurs for instance: 111, 467, 304, 434, 473; Fol. 59 c.

can: Pres. Indic. sing. 1st *can* 433; 2nd *cannest* 3, *canst* 3; 3rd *can* 213, *canne* 2, *kanne* Fol. 17 b; plur. *kunnen* 21, *kun* 394, *kunne* 519. Pres. Subj. *kunne* 469; Infin. *kunne* 131; Pres. Partic. *kunnyng* 93 (has passed into an adj.); Pret. sing. 2nd *couthist* 119; 3rd *couthe* 78, *kouthe* 351, Fol. 4 b; plur. *couthen* 68, *couthe* 149, *kouthen* 368. Past Partic. *kunnen* 15, 16, Fol. 22 a (twice), *kunne* 101 (in the sense of "get to know", "learn")[1].

Note 3. The Follower has a few examples of a weak inflection: *kunne* 84 d (1st sing. pres. indic.) in the phrase *cunne thank; kunnyd* (past

[1] N. E. D. II, 58 gives only a few examples of this strong participle, e. g. "Yf thou haddest ony good conne" (Lydgate).

partic.) 22 b (3 times) (in the sense of "get to know, learn"). Cf. N. E. D. II, 751 col. 1: "already in 14th c. in the phrase *to cun thanks* ... we find a pa. t. *cunde, conned,* with correspond. pa. ppl." The earliest instance of weak inflection in the sense of "get to know" quoted in N. E. D. (ib. col. 2), is from c. 1500.

mai: Pres. Indic. sing. 1st *mai* 147; 2nd *maist* 117; 3rd *mai* 8, *may* 111, *maie* 250, 535; plur. *moȝen* 529, *mowe* 103, *moun* 273; Infin. *mowe* 104, 69, Fol. 25 c, *may* Fol. 62 c ('y myȝte wel ynouȝ do and speke as thou hast concludid me forto *may* do and speke ...'); Pret. sing. 2nd *myȝtist* 271, Fol. 79 a; 3rd *myȝte* 1; plur. *miȝten* 120, *myȝten* 526, *myȝte* 279.

dare: Pres. Indic. sing. *dare* 145, *dar* 463; plur. *dare* 120; Pret. *durste* 54, Fol. 48 d; *durst* 100.

must: Pres. and Pret. sing. 1st *must* 78, *muste* 78; 2nd *muste* 521; 3rd *muste* 535; plur. *musten* 103, *muste* 104.

ouȝt: Pres. and Pret. sing. 1st *ouȝte* 160; 2nd *ouȝtist* 3; 3rd *ouȝte* 158, *ouȝt* 157, *out* 218, *owith* 295, Fol. 53 d; plur. *ouȝten* 160, *ouȝte* 304, *ouȝtiden* 157; Infin. *owȝ* Fol. 77 a.

wite: Pres. Indic. sing. 1st *woot* 26, *wote* 88, 136; 2nd *wost* Fol. 64 a; 3rd *wote* 144; plur. *witen* 103; Infin. *wite* 307; Pres. Partic. *witing* 69; Pret. sing. *wiste* 346, *wist* 222; plur. *wisten* 552; Past Partic. *wiste* 67, *wist* 227, Fol. 88 c.

schal: Pres. Indic. sing. 1st. and 3rd *schal* 4; 2nd *schalt* 119; plur. *schulen* 460, *schule* 342. Pret. Indic. sing. *schulde* 153, *schude* 176; plur. *schuden* 440, *schulden* 497.

II. Syntax.

Chapter I.

Gender and Voice.

§ 59. Impersonal Verbs.

There was a tendency in Middle English to change originally impersonal verbs, construed with a personal dative, into personal ones. (Cf. Jespersen, Progress in Language §§ 173 sqq.; Kellner, Outlines § 337.) The confusion this tendency gives rise to is to be seen in Pecock in the following cases:

a) O. E. *þyncan* and *þencan* (= M. E. *thinke, thenke*) are often confused.

The infinitives *thinke* and *thenke* appear interchangeably in the sense of "to think", "to believe"; and in connection with the preposition *upon*:

'Goddis forbode that any Cristen man schulde *thinke* and trowe to be a trewe and a good gouernance forto kepe hise feithis . . . priuey' 99; 'thei wolden *thinke* that . . .' 109; 'thei wolden *thenke* that . . . '109; 'he hath nede forto ofte *thinke upon* tho thingis and meenis whiche schulden stire him . . . forto *thenke upon* tho pointis in whiche he schulde serue to God' 165.

In the present tense *thinke* is only used impersonally, e. g. *me thinkith* 67, 78, 370, Fol. 18 b; *thenke* is personal in Rp., e. g. 72, 166; but occurs in Fol., also in the impersonal form, e. g. *me thenketh* 8 b, 80 a.

The preterite *thouȝte* is either personal, e. g. *y thouȝte* 102, or impersonal, e. g. *hem thouȝte* 248, *him thouȝte* 244.

b) *nede: it nedith* is used, with no dative of person, in combination with an infinitive that stands as logical sub-

ject, e. g. *'it nedith* not to be' Fol. 60 b; or followed by a that-clause, e. g. *'it nedith* not that therfore be seid . . .' 152.

Otherwise the personal construction is found: *'thei neden* miche more to leerne' 128; *'he nedith* not oonli heereable rememoratijf signes' 209.

The Old English sense of "compel" appears in the past partic. *nedid,* e. g. 'tho oonli whiche were *nedid* . . . forto lyue in thilk maner' 320.

c) *like* is regularly used in the sense of "to please", e. g. *'it likith* to God' 186; 'if *it like* to eny man forto holde' 142; *'this likith me'* Fol. 23 a. Other examples: pp. 151, 267.

The personal use occurs once in Fol.: 'if *thou like* not the oon' 87 c.

d) *luste* is impersonally used, e. g. *him lustith* 311; but there is a tendency shown by this verb to become personal, inasmuch as it may be closely connected with a personally constructed verb, whose subject can be readily supplied from the preceding impersonal one: 'ech man forto take as myche as *him lustith* and *may holde* withoute clayme and victorie of hise neiȝboris worldli good is no synne' 155.

e) *plese* is likewise generally impersonal, e. g. 13; Fol. 3 c, 85 b; but the gradual change to the personal use is marked by instances such as: *'that God be plesid'* Fol. 39 b; *'God is neithir preisid . . . neithir plesid'* 51.

f) Other verbs and phrases appear only in the impersonal form, e. g.:

> 'the same bondage, in to which *it happid* hem in her ȝongthe . . . to entre' 518; *'it so farith* bi alle hem which lyuen in religioun' 541; *'leefir it schulde be* to ȝow that thei kept hem out of syn' Fol. 79 d (beside the personal *haue leefir* 91; Fol. 31 a, 14 c.)

§ 60. Transitive and Intransitive Verbs.

Some verbs may be used both intransitively and transitively or causatively. The following cases may be noted in Pecock's Repressor.

a) Verbs of O. E. origin:

hange: (= O. E. *hangian, -ode* itr. and O. E. *hón* tr.). The infin. *hange* 197 is tr. The present tense forms are either tr. (*hange* pres. subj. 166) or itr. (*hangith* 17, 172). The pret. *henge* is always itr., e. g. 199, 261, 139.

come: The itr. verb *come* appears once in the phrase: 'thei ... wolen not *come her thankis* into the bodili chirche' (= "tender thanks") 563.

N. E. D. II, 653 gives this quasi-tr. use as existing in modern dialects and as due possibly to a confusion with the phrase *cunne thank.*

b) Verbs of O. Fr. origin:

appeire, apperre: α) itr. (= "become worse"): 'a man aftir a certein of hise ȝeeris spend schal *appeire*' 338; β) tr. (="make worse, injure, impair"): 'persoones... whiche ouȝte forbere for the while the prelacie ... rather than *appeire* hem silf in receyuyng tho ricchessis, or *apperre* her successouris aftir hem in removing awey tho richessis' 305;

O. Fr. *empeirer, empirer* is used in both senses as early as the 12th century. See Littré, p. 1356.

departe: tr. (= "devide, separate"): *'departid* atwynne facultees' 34; itr. (= "go away"): 'whanne sche *departid* from her fadris hous' 174.

O. Fr. *départir* occurs both in tr. and itr. sense in the 12th century. See Godefroy II, 511 sq.

ceese is itr. p. 350 etc. but occurs once as a causative verb: 'God... *ceese* ... in the comoun peple such ... undirnymyng' 4. N. E. D. has an instance of this use as early as 1399 (Poet. Poems). Godefroy (II, 26) gives a single instance from O. Fr. from the beginning of the 13th century (Psautier de Corbie). Littré on the other hand (p. 534) does not adduce any examples previous to the 16th century.

remembre: α) = "remember, recollect." In this sense the verb is either construed with a direct object (*remembre God* 167) or with the preposition *upon* ('it is leeful ... for to haue seable ymagis graued ... forto make us *remembre upon* him (sc. Crist) and his passioun' 164), being in the latter case sometimes reflexive ("tokenes forto therbi *remembre us silf upon* the deede or gouernaunce' 165).

β) causative with a personal object = "stir, exhort, remind".

> 'what euer thing oonli *remembrith,* stirith and exortith ... men forto kepe certein gouernauncis' 21; 'into whos performyng (sc. gouernaunce) thei *remembren* men and stiren and prouoken' 23; 'it is profitable him to haue sum thing forto ofte and miche *remembre* him into the fulfilling of thilk deede' 555; 'thingis, whiche schulden *remembre* us myche upon the dignitees, benefetis and punyschingis of God' 165.

All the constructions noted in group α) occur in O. Fr. (*remembrar sa passion, de mei remembrez, il c'est remembreit de la misericorde*), see Godefroy VII, 1. The second sense does not seem to be known in O. Fr. (cf. Godefroy l. c. and Littré p. 1590).

The causative sense of the last two verbs is most likely not due to O. Fr. influence, but rather to a tendency to confuse transitive and intransitive verbs, a tendency already present in the language in Old English times (cf. Kellner, Outlines § 342). Both verbs are noted by Kellner (§§ 343 sqq.) in his lists of causative verbs from Caxton and Shakespeare.

Note. In this place it may be worth while to point out that the power of transitivity is chiefly manifest in the numerous verbs derived from nouns. Pecock has a large number of denominative verbs of causal sense, especially in gerundial and participial form, which neither existed in O. E. nor in O. Fr., e. g. *childide* (= "gave birth to") 293, earliest examples in N. E. D. from Ormin (1200)

and Wycliffe (1380); *strengthe* 285; *wronge* 70; *clerèe* 72 (= "explain, elucidate"), earliest example in N. E. D. from Prompt. Parv. (1440); *perfiting* 549 (= "to perfect"); *cleering* 316; *bodied* 245 (= "embodied"), which is the earliest example in N. E. D.; *fierid* Fol. 10 d(= "set on fire"), earliest example in N. E. D. from Alexander (1400); *ooned* 41 (= "coupled with"); *unriztid* 386 (= "put out of his rights").

§ 61. A substantive governed by a preposition appearing as the subject in passive constructions. This phenomenon is of comparatively frequent occurrence in Pecock, e. g.:

> 'no thing is expresseli *spoken of* in Scripture' 121 (cf. 'yuelis, *of whiche* it is now *spokun*' 158); 'her iust undirnymyngis ben dispisid and ben not *seet bi*' 3 (cf. 'thei *setten* litil *bi* the answere now maad' 192); '... that tho men and wommen be therbi the oftir *thouzt upon*' 164; 'the feith of oon God is so weel *attendid to*' 249.

The participial form of the verb is sometimes in attributive relation to the substantive: 'wrecchid persoones not *sett bi* of othere hethen men' 248.

This separation of the substantive from its governing preposition (see Paul, Prinzipien § 204) would seem to be an original characteristic of Pecock's style, since Mätzner (II, 67) and Kellner (Eng. Stud. XXII, 81) give but few instances before his time, mostly from Wycliffe. In Rp. the construction is apparently to some extent owing to a confusion with verbs compounded with separable particles such as those occurring in the following instances:

> 'these (sc. forbodis) *bynden to* alwey' 506; 'the Gospel is *brouzte in* forto enforce this secunde semyng skile' 513; 'if thilk ymage be *offrid up*' 238; 'suche ymagis *up offrid*' 238; 'if it be weel... *aboute considerid*' 541; '*departid atwynne* facultees' 34.

In the former group of verbs what was originally a

preposition is turned into an adverb and forms with the preceding verb a species of compound; in the latter the combination of verb + adverb (or separable particle) is earlier, a fact, which may have contributed in measure to the formations given in the other group. This kind of assimilation is especially illustrated by examples where verbs of both groups are coordinated with each other, e. g. 'the freelnes of the persoon ouȝte bi riȝt be *fouȝt aȝens* and be *leid awey*' 514 or where the same verb is combined twice with a particle, which sometimes has the function of a preposition, sometimes that of an adverb, e. g. 'Crist . . . *settid* the lawe of hise sacramentis *to* the seid lawe of kinde' 530; 'oonli he, that makith the text of a book lengir than he is, *settith to* the wordis of thilk book' 64; 'the seid arguers wolen *sette to* and fortofie her partie thus' . . . 192.

Note. The phrasal verb *speke of* often occurs in the passive voice without the preposition, e. g. 'these (sc. textis) whiche schulen be *spoken*' 477; 'the now *spoken* bokis' 47; 'in the maner of leefulnes *spokun* bifore' 161.

Chapter II:

Number.

A. *One Subject.*

1. Subject of Singular Form.

§ 62. Subject a Collective Noun.

The following are the nouns after which both numbers can be used:

peple

a) The plural occurs most frequently:

'*The peple* of Iewis *weren* not so unwise' 198; *the peple* (sc. the Iewis) *lyueden* and *seruiden* God' 18; '*the peple* of which the legende of Seint Bartholome spekith *weren* to be blamed for that *thei attendiden*

to thilk greet ymage as to her God, and *peple* now adaies *ben* not to be blamed thouȝ *thei attenden* to ymagis forto use hem as signes and tokenes of God' 227.

b) A singular is coordinated with a preceding plural in the same sentence:

'And now, aftir the destruccioun of the rewme, *the peple ben* glad for to resorte and turne aȝen into the catholik and general feith and loore of the chirche; and in her pouerte *bildith* up aȝen what was brent' 86.

multitude

a) The plural is used in most cases:

'ouer greet *multitude* of mennys posityue lawis *ouȝten* not be mad' 474; 'thilk *multitude ȝeren* lay persoones' 317; 'the seid Cristen *multitude* in Ierusalem *lyueden* in her seid pouerte' 317.

b) The singular, however, is found in the following sentence:

'this or such othere lijk persecucioun thilk multitude *awaitid* ... forto to hem and upon hem come' 318.

clergie

a) Plural:

'*the clergie* (religiose and not religiose) *ben* so richeli endewid' 369. Similar examples: p. 370 *(holden, hauen, beren).*

b) Singular:

'*the clergie* in thilk daies *was* not endewid with unmouable possessiouns' 342; '*the clergie allowith* and *approueth* these gouernauncis to be doon bi the layfe' 565. Similar examples: p. 564 *(swerith, makith).*

parti

a) Plural:

'the lay *parti wolen* attende and truste to her owne wittis, and *wolen* lene to textis of the Bible oonli' 85.

b) Singular:

'her *parti is* not so miche confoundid as it is, and... the contrarie *partie* to hem *is* not so weel proued as it is' 564.

§ 63. Subject an Indefinite Pronoun *(ech, euereithir, neuerneithir)* or qualified by such.

a) In cases where one of these pronouns stands in the attributive relation to a substantive of singular number, the predicate is put in the singular:

'ech gouernaunce ... *is* bede ... bi Holi Scripture to be doon' 115; *'euereither* party *trowith* to haue riȝt' 17. Other instances: pp. 2 *(is)*, 115 *(is)*, 134 *(is)*.

b) but if it is followed by a partitive genitive in the plural number the predicate may appear in the plural (cf. Mätzner II, 149 sq.; I. Schmidt p. 356):

'Ech of these gouernauncis ... *mowe* be knowen bi doom of resoun' 13; '"*ech* of us alle *offenden* in ful manye thingis"' 421 (cf. 'alle we *offenden* in ful manye thingis', Wycliffe's Bible, James 3, 2); *'euer either* of hem bothe *schulden* ellis haue meened in thilk ii. placis aȝens mo than 1. othere placis of Holi Scripture' 391; *'euereither* of the ii. spechis of preiers *ben* also allowable' 265;

though the singular is more usual:

'ech of these weies and meenis *is* profitable' 115; *'euereither* of the ii. former seid spechis *is* alloweable' 265; *'neuerneither* of tho textis *lettith* preestis to be to the lay peple, but rather *euereither* of hem

inplieth in him silf that preestis ouȝten be to the peple' 423; 'the writing of the al hool Bible, or... the writing of the Newe Testament, of whiche *neuer neither* thanne was' 55. Analogous instances: 45 *(nedith)*; 49 *(hath)*; 33 *(hath)*; 115 *(is)*; 265 *(is)*; 502 *(lettith* and *forbarrith)*.

2. Subject of Plural Form.

§ 64. Incongruity of number is in this case not very rare, and may sometimes be explained by the fact that the subject follows the predicate (cf. Mätzner II, 151), e. g. 'of thilk vertu or gouernaunce scantli *is ꝟriten* in al Holi Writ *ten lynes*' 15; or by the fact that there is a singular substantive in the position of predicative complement (cf. Mätzner II, 157 sq.), e. g. *'these sacramentis*, whiche Crist settid so to the lawe of kinde... *is a religioun*' 530; *'the sacramentis*, which God made and ȝaue ouer the lawe of kinde to the Iewis, *ꝟas a religioun*' 531 (but immediately afterwards: *'thes sacramentis, ꝟhiche . . . ben a religioun*' 531); but there are other instances where no such reason can account for the irregularity of concord:

'profris of greet meede *hath* be mad to hem' 150; 'thilk *ꝟordis* of prophecie of Petir *fallith* upon the sectis or religiouns now had and usid in the chirche' 488.

The singular verb in these instances is no doubt due to the attribute in the genitive having the chief stress in the sentence, which may be said to be proved, as far as the last example is concerned, by its sense being reproduced a little further on by: 'upon hem *fallith thilk prophecie* of Petir' 489.

Here there is a grammatical phenomenon that is the exact converse of the one noted above (§ 63 b), where a plural genitive was responsible for a predicate of plural number. In this place only examples of the partitive

genitive have been given, but the principle of letting the conception which is foremost in the mind determine the concord goes even further, as is shown by the following sentence: 'bi these same xiii. conclusiouns and her proofis *ben* weel adauntid *the wanton and unkunnyng bering of hem* whiche wolen not allowe eny gouernaunce to be the lawe and seruice of God' 51.

B. *Two or More Subjects.*

§ 65. If the different subjects are of singular form, there is nothing special to be noted, except that in the case where they are connected by *or,* the predicate may follow in the plural provided the alternative relation between the subjects be at all obscured, *or* being then equivalent to *and.*

> 'if Holi Scripture or cleer resoun *forbedun* the now spoken V^e^. principal gouernaunce . . . Holi Scripture and doom of cleer resoun schulden forbede lijk weel . . . the iiii^e^. principal gouernaunce' 457.

The singular is the regular form. Examples: 6 *(schal);* 402 *(ȝeueth);* 430 *(wirchith)* etc.

§ 66. In cases where there are one or more plural subjects, in coordination with a singular subject or not, the singular number of the verb is occasionally found.

a) Thus a singular predicate is evidently allowable if the connective word is *or* and that one of the subjects placed next to the verb is in the singular. Cf. I. Schmidt § 215, anm. 4.

> 'whanne *the lordis* and *the ladies or eny* of the comoun peple *ȝeueth* eny almes to religiose couentis' 551.

b) But the verb can be put in the singular, even if the nearest of the preceding subjects is a plural, provided a group of words separates this subject from the predicate. Only two examples are found of this irregu-

larity, and in both of them the predicate is a form of the verb *be*.

> '*the tenementis* and *alle the possessiouns*... which the clergie... holden and hauen, *is* better meintened... than if *tho same tenementis* and *possessiouns*... *weren* in the hondis of grete lordis' 370; 'the bischop or the abbot and her *successouris* receuyng the seid good undir this forme of ȝeuyng *is* free to do therwith what thei wolen' 403. Compare the sentence a little further on: 'if the same abbot or bischop and her *successouris hadden* the same ȝiftis' 403.

Chapter III.

Tense.

§ 67. The historical present is very rare in Rp.:

> 'And Damasus *writith* aȝen to Ierom the now seid storie, and *seith* that al what he couthe and myȝte... knowe what was doon fro Seint Petris daies into hise owne daies thanne lyuyng he hadde write in the now seid storie' 360.

§ 68. The passive tenses, which are formed with the present and preterite forms of the auxiliary *be*, often assume the meaning of a perfect and pluperfect tense respectively. (Cf. Mätzner II, 64; I. Schmidt § 314):

> 'the uniustnes of iuging which *is* ȝouun upon me' 106; 'the leernyng and knowing which *is writun* upon him (sc. gouernaunce) in Holi Scripture' 14; 'thouȝ Scripture *were distroied* and brent' 17; 'If eny such now seid endewing *was mad* bi Constantyn' 361; 'such bidding as *is* before *seid*' 112; 'this thing so as now *is seid* weerned' 471; 'as *is* now sumwhat here schortli *seid* and *touchid*' 108. Other examples: pp. 60, 350, 215 etc.

The true perfect and pluperfect tenses occur interchangeably with the present and preterite tenses:

'the fame of thilk voice *hath* long tyme *be had*' 359; 'if thilk greet endewing *hadde be mad*' 360; 'thouȝ thilk epistle . . . *had not be ȝritun*' 22. Other examples: pp. 22, 147, 149, 257 etc.

§ 69. The perfect tense of the infinitive is employed after a preterite tense governing it to indicate an action contrary to fact. This usage was of frequent occurrence in the Middle English of the 15th and 16th centuries (cf. Kellner, Outlines § 374 and Caxton's Syntax § 22, 2; Baldwin, § 260) and has a counterpart in the general tendency to put a past tense instead of a present in conditional sentences, a distinction between supposition and fact being thereby marked. Cf. Mätzner II, 97, 99.

'the lordis *han had* therbi ful riche and preciose leisers *forto haue serued* God in hiȝer and deuouter weies, if thei wolden' 306; 'it muste nedis ligge in open doom of resoun that folie *hadde be* to al thilk Cristen multitude . . . *forto haue storid and tresourid* to hem eny grete possessiouns' 318; 'if the religioun of the Pharisees hadde be reprouable, as the persoones weren, Crist wolde not *haue sparid forto haue blamed* boldeli the religioun' 529; 'Constantyn *purposid forto haue bildid* his citee in an othir place thanne at Bizans . . . but bi warnyng in his sleep he turned his purpos' 365; 'Laban . . . was not holden an ydolatrer . . . for thanne wolde not the modir of Iacob *haue send* him into the hous of Laban *forto haue take* a wijf there in ydolatrie' 174. Other examples: pp. 337, 392, 382, 539 etc.

§ 70. For periphrastic and definite tenses see the auxiliaries *haue* and *be* and *schal* and *wole* (§§ 85, 91, 92) and The Participle (§ 137).

§ 71. For the sequence of tenses in subordinate clauses with subjunctive mood see § 84 b.

Chapter IV.

Mood.

A. *The Imperative.*

§ 72. The imperative is very often accompanied by a personal pronoun. This is owing to a confusion with the subjunctive, which wholly coincides in form with the imperative (cf. Gasner 23).

> *'undirnyme thou* and *blame thou* . . . in pacience' 3; *'take* ȝe a sufficient mark, that ȝe haue nede forto haue ȝoure recours and conseil with suche now biforeseid clerkis . . . and *drede* ȝe of the effect which bifille to Bohemers for lijk cause' 87. Other examples: pp. 252, 253, 254.

B. *The Subjunctive.*

1. Subjunctive in Principal Sentences.

§ 73. The 1st and 3rd persons of the present tense are often used to express wish, request, command (optative or hortative mood).

a) Examples of optative mood are:

> *'God graunte'* 70; *'God forbede'* 90, 157 etc.; *'Goddis forbode be it'* 537 (generally abbreviated into: *'Goddis forbode'* 25, 98, 99, 228, 253 etc.); 'God for his merci and pitee *kepe* Ynglond, that he come not into lijk daunce' 86; 'alle such ouerhasti iugers and wijters God *amende'* 143.

b) Examples of hortative mood are:

in affirmative sentences:

> *'go we* ferther now thus' 30; *'rede* who so wole thilk book' 15; 'as who euere wole se that these textis prouen and grounden this ii^{e}. answere, *go he*

into the iiii^{e}. chapiter' 434; 'ech reder of this present chapiter *haue* pacience in his reding' 65;

in negative sentences:

'no man *obiecte* here ȝens' 50; 'no man *conceyue* me in contrarie wise to feele' 90; 'Wherfore no man *speke* or *entermete* or *haue* to do with eny other man or womman, or *bileeue* and *truste* to eny man or womman' 226.

§ 74. The preterite subjunctive of the verbs *be* and *haue* appears in the consequence clause of conditional sentences of rejected condition:

'if tho deputaciouns or assignaciouns weren not, tho seid sensible signes *were* litil able or not able for to represente to us these othere now seid thingis' 220; 'if Crist wolde haue consentid to the peple willing forto chese him her king, he *had* in that consentid to her wrongful doing' 315; 'wondir it *were* but that it were leeful to Cristen men forto make and rere up an yȝe an ymage of Crist crucified' 139; 'which processe *were* ouer long to be ȝen rehercid here' 40; 'upon which sentence it *were* good that men hem bithouȝte' 109.

A preterite subjunctive of other verbs occurs, but very rarely.

'For ellis the holding were feyned, and *lackid* euydence and ground' 94 sq.; 'Forhwi ellis this preest *toke* upon him a deede, which were not morali vertuose to him' 313; 'forwhi ellis we *conformeden* not us to it wherto God us callith 188.

2. Subjunctive in Subordinate Sentences.

§ 75. Substantive Clauses.

a) Subject Clauses introduced by *that* or *lest*. The present subjunctive is regularly found in subordinate clauses dependent on impersonal verbs and phrases express-

ing wish, necessity, possibility, fitness, apprehension and similar notions.

The impersonal phrases belonging to this category are: *it is profitable* 268; *it nedith* 152; *noon nede is* 76; *it is greet nede* 3; *what skile is therto that* 197; *it is resonable* 182; *it is conuenient* 186; *it is inconuenient* 186; *it bisemeth* 333; *it is fitting* 333; *herwith stondith* 95, 34; *it stondith weel* 304; *it may perteyne* 32; *it is leeful* 367, 454; *it is leeful and expedient* 169; *it were good* 109; *it is not good reule* 514; *it is alloweable and approuable* 540; *it is repugnant* 38; *the perel is lest* 341; *perilose it is that* 421.

Examples of their use are:

> 'herwith *mai* weel *stonde* that Holi Scripture *reherce* trouthis and gouernauncis whiche ben propre to moral lawe of kinde' 34; 'it *is* not *leeful* that eny man *iuge* into deeth or *slee*' 367; 'al *the perel* which is in hauyng of grete ricchessis *is, lest* a man *bere* him not weel in forbering lustis; and *the perel* which is in lacking richessis *is, lest* a man *bere* him not weel and strongli in suffring of peyne' 341; 'If a man wole go in pilgrimage..., *what skile is* therto that he *go* thidir in pilgrimage openli ... Also *what skile is* therto, that he *bere* openli bi stretis an ymage of wex or of tre forto offre it up at the place of pilgrimage' 197.

The indicative, however, should be noted in the following clause that merely states a fact:

> '*skile* whi al this *is* trewe may be perceyued weel ynowȝ of a diligent considerer' 405.

b) Object Clauses introduced by *that* or *lest*.

α) The present subjunctive in object clauses introduced by *that* or *lest* is found after verbal phrases expressing volition, action, command, entreaty, request, feeling, emotion (compare the preceding section).

To this group belong: *wole* 27, 83, 113 etc.; *desire*

70; *bidde* 508; *ordeyne* 367; *Goddis forbode* 25; *counseile* 421; *vouche saaf* (= "warrant as safe") 131; *ensaumple* 168; *allowe* 115; *graunte* 369 (= "permit something to be done"; but in the sense of "admit the truth of something" *graunte* is followed by the indic., e. g. 438); *accorde* 437; *ouer see* 416; *attende* 416; *loke after* 397; *be waar* 63, 88; *awaite* 421; *labore* 507; *wirche* 431; *do* (= "bring about, effect") 220; *preie* 265; *aske* (= *preie*) 201; *coueite* 218; *drede* 199; *be feerd, afeerd* 51; *have kark* 307.

Examples of their use are:

'y *wole* and *allowe* rather that he *go* and *chese* the better of tho weies than the lasse good of tho *weies*' 113; 'God *biddith* that a man *releeue* the pouerte' 508; 'aboue manye preestis . . . is oon bischop forto *ouer se* and *attende* that alle tho preestis *lyue* and *do* as it longith to hem' 416; 'thouȝ the king *graunte* that the bischop or abbot *haue* the labour forto aspie and gete a man '369 (cf. 'If thou *graunte* . . . that Peter *was* heed of the Apostlis' 438); 'y wole *vouche saaf* that he *ouerlepe* hem and *go* at the firste into the ij^{e}. chapiter' 131; '*be waar* that thou not *accepte, chese,* and *take* a clerk forto bę sufficient to thee' 88; 'Y *preie* Iohun that he *ȝeue* to me the seid fee' 265; 'This condicioun *dooth* ful myche that a thing *be* ymage of an other thing' 220; 'the cause of a thing is it that *wirchith* into the thing, that the thing *be* mad or doon' 431; 'If eny man *be feerd* lest he *trespace* to God if he make ouer litle of Holi Scripture . . . y aske whi *is* he not *afeerd* lest he *make* ouer litle and *apprise* ouer litle the inward Scripture of the bifore spoken lawe of kinde' 51; 'wher yn oon myȝti man stumblith, there an other myȝti man ouȝte *drede* lest he also *stumble*' 199; 'bi such greet . . . endewing thei schulen *haue* lasse thouȝt and lasse *kark and clayng* lest her godis *be* lost and spilled' 307.

β) **A preterite sucjunctive sometimes occurs after** *wolde*:

'herto y *wolde* that ech man *toke* hede' 273; 'I *wolde* also that the office of preching *had* his dew honour' 90; 'y *wolde* that profound and groundli scoling in logik . . . *were* not left bihinde' 90.

γ) **The preterite subjunctive** "*were*" **is used in clauses governed by verbs of thinking or saying in cases where the clause is to express unreality or a mere supposition:**

'y haue wiste suche men . . . forto avowe and warante that in the Bible *were* miche more and profitabiler and of other soort kunnyng than can ther yn be founde' 67; 'in caas a greet clerk wolde go into a librarie . . . and wolde aftirward reporte . . . the sentence of the same proces to the peple at Poulis Cros in a sermoun . . . schulde the heerers of thilk reportyng and remembring seie that thilk sentence *were* foundid and groundid in the seid reporter' 30; 'me thinkith . . . good counseil *were* forto seie to hem' 67; 'I putte caas here, *were* a man which hath myche ricches, wherwith he mai weel releeue the pouerte of his fadir and modir . . . if thei in eny pouerte now weren' 507.

Note. The present subjunctive, however, is used with another verb than *be* in the following example, very likely because the preterite subjunctive would coincide in form with the indicative:

'thouȝ God schulde not and wolde not suffre eny man to haue the dew undirstonding of Holi Scripture . . . ȝit we *mowe haue* that hise ȝiftis and gracis . . . he *ȝeue* as plenteuoseli to a bad man as to a good man' 95.

c) **Appositional Clauses** require the verb in the subjunctive mood in cases where their headwords in the

principal sentences imply the notion of wish, request, command etc.:

> 'Ech of these *gouernauncis, trouthis, and vertues* . . . mowe be knowen bi doom of resoun . . . that is to seie, that God is moost to be loued of man . . . that a man schulde be trewe to God in paiyng hise iust promissis . . . that he *be* meke to God . . . that he *reuerence* God, and that he *take* bisynes for to leerne what plesith God, that he it *do* to God or for God' 13; 'Oon *condicioun* is, that he *be* lijk myche or sumwhat to the othir thing' 219; 'Ech thing, which is doon of man in his moral conuersacioun, is such that doom of resoun or the bifore seid ground of feith it approueth; as is, that God is to be loued... or is such that doom of resoun ... it reproueth; as is this, that a man *take* his neiȝboris wijf into fleischli comunyng . . . or it is such that neither doom of resoun neither eny bifore seid ground... it approueth or reproueth . . . as is this, that a man *lete* his heer growe unto bynethe hise eeris' 135.

d) In Indirect Questions introduced by *whether* the 3rd sing. pres. subj. *be* occasionally appears, this being the usual form if the verb of the principal sentence has a future or compulsive meaning.

> 'whether Holi Scripture *be* worthier or profitabiler to man than is the now seid doom of resoun... forto serue God... *schal* not *be disputid* and determyned... in this book' 83; *'it is* now next *to be encerchid* whether this holding *be* trewe or not trewe' 381; *'it is to be aspied... whether* it *be* esier... for to fiȝte aȝens his freelnes' 514; 'Seint Jame... *leeueth* to ech mannys owne doom and conscience, whether he *be* of thilk ouer freel manye or of thilk ouer freel multitude or no' 421.

But the indicative is also possible:

'if of eny of hem it *be* askid, whether this ymage *is* God in heuen ... he wole seie anoon, that this ymage is not he, but that this ymage is the ymage of him' 149;

and is regularly used with other verbs than *be:*

'It *is* diligentli *to be awaitid* whether the feend *entermetith* him with eny thing' 226; *'whether* this yuel ... *was* not a greet myscheef ... deme ȝe' 343.

The subjunctive *be* can even be coordinated with the indicative of another verb:

'If eny man is aboute forto proue a certein gouernaunce to be unleeful ... by cause that therof ... cometh synne or other harme, he muste therwith se whether of and bi the same gouernaunce *cometh* ... eny vertuose good ... and *whethir* al thilk good so comyng fro and bi the seid gouernaunce *be* more or lasse than is al the yuel comyng bi the same gouernaunce' 432.

§ 76. Conditional Clauses.

a) The present subjunctive is regularly used in clauses of possible contingency[1], provided the principal sentence has a present or future tense.

α) Clauses introduced by *if, in caas:*

'which book if he *be* rad and *be* weel understonde thoruȝout hise iii. parties *schal* conferme undoutabli al what is seid here' 26; 'noon inconuenience *is,* if God *ordeyne* the power of resoun for to be oure reule in his seruice doing' 75; 'if eny man *sette* such now seid exposiciouns ... he *is* cursid' 55; 'If eny man *be* not oonli meke, but if ther with al he *kepe* and *ful-*

[1] Clauses of possible contingency are those, where "it is left undecided whether the fact is to take place or not". See Ljunggren II, 107 sq. They are consequently identical with Baldwin's clauses of "anticipatory and ideal conditions." See Baldwin § 210.

fille al the lawe of God... he *schal haue* the trewe undirstonding of Holi Scripture' 102. Other examples: pp. 51, 53, 84, 109, 184, 382 etc.

Note. A preterite subjunctive of conditional meaning sometimes occurs in the principal sentence (cf. Mätzner II, 116):

'in caas that certeyn godis *be* ȝouen to me . . . what resoun *were* it that thei not ȝit so trespacing schulden be dispoilid of thilk hool same good?' 413; 'if y *be* a bischop and mys *use* habituali or customabili myn unmovable possessiouns . . . what riȝt *were* this that an ynnocent, ȝhe, many innocentis comyng aftir me... schulden be depriued of the same godis?' 413.

β) Clauses introduced by *but if, but that, in lasse that* (= "unless"), *withoute that, sq that* (= lat. 'modo', 'dummodo', cf. Western § 111; Mätzner III, 500), *whether... or.*

'who euer bi his owne necligence and bi his owne fre wil unknowith the lawe... *schal be* unknowen of God, *but if* he *amende* thilk defaut' 57; 'Holi Writt wel allowith the seid having... of ymagis of God, so that thou maist not aschape, *but that* therfore thou *allowe* and *approue* it to be a point of Goddis moral lawe' 174; 'Forwhi, *inlasse than* he *go* forth fro me at the gate, he mai not come to Poulis Cros forto here the sermoun' 113; 'also... ben weel adauntid the wanton and unkunnyng bering of hem whiche *wolen* not allowe eny gouernaunce to be the lawe and seruice of God, *inlasse than* it *be* grondid in Holi Scripture' 51; 'the usingis of the seid newe sacramentis *mowe* not be groundid bi Holi Scripture to be oure gouernauncis... withoute help of resonys doom, and *withoute that* lawe of kinde and moral philsophi and Holi Scripture *grounde* hem to gidere' 45 sq.; 'It *is* leeful ynouȝ a man to offre to God or to a Seint bifore an ymage of God or of a

Seint, *so that* he *offre* not to the ymage but bifore the ymage' 170; 'as soone may a viciose man come to and fynde the dew undirstonding of Holi Scripture, how soone mai a vertuose man finde, *so that* thei ben lijk witti in nature, or *so that* the viciose man *haue* a cleerer witt than the vertuose man hath' 94; 'of no vertu... Holi Scripture al oon ȝeueth the sufficient kunnyng . . . *whether* he *be* take for the Newe Testament al oon *or* for the Newe Testament and the Oold to gidere' 10.

b) The preterite subjunctive appears in clauses of possible contingency and in clauses of rejected condition if the governing clause has an historical tense.

'miche good *wolde* come forth if a schort compendiose logik *were* deuysid for al the commoun peple in her modiris langage' 9; 'lijk as he *schulde* unresonabili ... aske, if he *askid* of a treuthe in masonry, where it is groundid in carpentrie' 50; 'if eny other place of the erthe *bare* myn hous, certis myn hous *were* not groundid in this place of the erthe; and in lijk maner, if this treuthe or gouernaunce, that ech man schulde kepe mekenes, *were* knowe bi sum other thing than bi Holi Scripture... thilk gouernaunce... *were* not groundid in Holi Scripture' 11; 'if thilk greet endewing ... *hadde* be doon bi Constantyn, Damasus *wolde* haue write of it' 360. Other examples: pp. 182, 100, 562, 139.

Note. A present tense is, however, also found, though rarely, in the principal sentence. Cf. Mätzner II, 112 sq.

'herewith it is also open that noon othir thing ... *can* be assigned forto be ther of the reule or reuler, but if it *were* the seid doom of resoun' 79.

Compare the synonymous phrase: *ne were that* 394 (= N. E. "were it not that").

c) The indicative mood states the action expressed by the conditional clause as something external to the

speaker's thought, e. g. *clepist* 153, *bringith* 160. But inasmuch as subjective and objective predications easily blend together, an indicative form may even occur coordinated with a subjunctive form in the same sentence. This kind of contamination is of course only to be noticed in sentences where the time is present, since in the preterite there is no inflectional distinction between the different moods except in the case of *were*[1].

'if eny man *knowith* not or *putte* not in what he mai his bisynes forto leerne the writing of the Bible . . . he schal be unknowen of God' 53; 'if the fruyt of a tre *be* badde, the tree is badde; and if the fruyt of a tree *is* good, the tree is good '325; 'If a manys riȝt iȝe sclaundre him (that is to seie . . . *bringith* him into synne and *lettith* fro the more good to be doon) . . . and if his riȝt hond or his riȝt foot *sclaundre* him (that is to seie . . . *bringe* him to synne and *lett* fro the more good to be doon) . . .' 533; 'it is leeful ynouȝ ech man to be riche, in lasse than he *vowe* the *contrarie* or *that* he *knowith* bi assay and experience him silf so miche indisposid anentis ricchessis' 297.

§ 77. Concessive Clauses.

The subjunctive stands in concessive clauses admitting of an accessory hypothetical sense.

a) Clauses introduced by *thouȝ* (= 'even thouȝ').

α) Present Tense.

'*thouȝ* it *ligge* ful open and ful sureli in doom of resoun . . . ȝit thei anoon asken "where groundist thou it in the Newe Testament' 6; 'it is profitable and speedful ofte tymes a man forto speke as many

[1] Modern English occasionally substitutes *was* for *were*, owing, in part at least, to attraction to the other verbal forms of similar function, which, though originally subjunctives, became gradually felt to be indicatives. Cf. Mätzner II, 130.

usen forto speke, *thouȝ* he not *feele* as the manie but as the fewe feelen' 27.

β) Preterite Tense.

'al this kunnyng myȝte be had bi labour in doom of resoun, *thouȝ* no biholding therto *were* maad into Holi Scripture' 17; 'it is not leeful that the seid couent . . . expende the same ȝifte into eny other uce . . . *thouȝ* the other uce . . . *were* leeful ynouȝ' 552.

γ) Present and Preterite Tenses combined in order to avoid tautology.

'Thilk thing is the ground of a gouernaunce . . . out of which al the sufficient leernyng and knowing of the same gouernaunce . . . cometh . . . thouȝ al other thing pretendid to be ground ther of *be* awey or *were* not in being' 12.

The indicative states a plain fact, e. g. *is* 297; *was* 69; *hath* 359; *seemeth* 16; *wirchith* 431. But the difference between the two moods is sometimes obscured and they are apparently used indifferently:

'sithen thilk kunnyng of cleernes and of derknes in the dai is not groundid in the Gospel, *thouȝ* the Gospel *make* a schort rehercel ther of, it folewith bi lijk skile that of no moral vertuose gouernauncis the sufficient kunnyng is groundid in Holi Writt, sithen al Holi Writt techith not forth the ful and sufficient and necessarie kunnyng of eny moral vertu in Goddis lawe or Goddis seruice, *thouȝ* of many of hem Holi Scripture *makith* schort remembrauncis to us' 24; 'tho craftis in thilk man . . . neuer the lasse kepen her seueralte in boundis and markis as in hem silf, *thouȝ* oon man *be* leerned in hem bothe and *can* wirche hem bothe and *hath* hem bothe' 50.

b) Clauses beginning with *not withstonding* generally express a fact and therefore take the indicative mood (cf. pp. 20, 26, 27, 430, 433, 462 etc.). Only once is this con-

junction followed by a subjunctive in a clause involving the notion of contingency.

> 'Forwhi, (*not withstonding* a man *talke* and *speke* of his freend at the mete table or in sum other place, and *haue* as good affeccioun as he can haue upon the same freend in such absence,) ȝit if in the meene while the freend come into him personali . . . he schal haue miche gretter affeccioun upon the seid freend' 267.

c) Clauses introduced by **indefinite relative pronouns or adverbs** often approach to clauses of indefinite hypothesis or concession and may therefore have the subjunctive mood.

> '*What euer* eny man *chalenge* or *obiecte* aȝens this now seid forbering of moneyes touching, this wole euer be founde trewe' 560; '*what euer* text of Holi Scripture therto *sowne* . . . riȝt soone and esili mai to it he mad sufficient answere' 312; '*what euer* he *be*, 467, 503; 'certis in lijk maner it wole fare, *who euer attempte* aȝens the seid uce of ymagis' 254; '*which euere* of thilke weies he *take*, y it allowe' 113; 'for to it proue y durst leie in plegge my lijf, *how euer* it *be* that her prophecies and reuelacions weren approued' 495; 'he schal neuer haue ther of forȝeuenes, *how euer* greet repentaunce and amendis he *do*' 498.

The indicative does not convey any idea of indefinite hypothesis:

> 'What euer deede or thing doom of resoun *dooth* as fulli and as perfitli as Holi Scripture it dooth, Holi Scripture it not dooth oonli or al oon' 11.

Compare also: pp. 10, 11, 23, 111, 112, 164 etc.

§ 78. Final Clauses.

The present subjunctive is very common provided the principal sentence has a present or future tense, and

may also appear after a preterite tense of conditional meaning.

a) Clauses introduced by *that.*

'what... condiciouns *ben* requirid to an argument, that he *be* ful and formal and good, is tauȝt in logik' 9; 'these now bifore rehercid thingis *ben* therfore ful profitable . . . to be remembrid of alle Cristene, that God *be* therbi the more loued of us and that we *haue* the ferventir wil forto do and suffre in seruyng him' 181; 'a litil synne is more to be eschewid and to be fled, than *is* a ful greet goostli good . . . to be pursewid and folewid that it *be* had' 515; 'Now that God for his godenes and charite *ceese* the sooner in comoun peple such... undirnymyng... y *schal do* therto sumwhat of mi part in this, that...' 4.

Other examples: *be* 35, 222; *haue* 157; *make* 28; *leerne* 219; *synne* 196, etc.

b) Clauses introduced by *into that, into this eende that, forto that:*

'this word *meede* or *reward* thus takun signifieth al oon with this word *fynding* forto speke of such fynding as is mynystring of costis and expensis and othere necessarie or profitable thingis *into that* a certeyn deede *be* doon and executid' 390; 'if resoun *schulde* not . . . approue that a man make and use seable rememoratijf signes... *into this eende that* he therbi the oftir *thenke* on Goddis worthinesse... ouermiche wondir it *were*' 166; 'as impossible as it *is* that fier be maad *forto that* he *moue* himsilf dounward' Fol. 56 c.

c) Clauses beginning with *therfore that:*

'therfore that y *be* the better and the cleerer undirstonde of the lay peple . . . y *sette* nowe bifore to hem this doctrine' 8; *'therfore that* y *be* not ouer long in this present book, y *speke* not of thilk mater in special here' 562.

Other examples not found.

d) Clauses beginning with *lest, lest that:*

'ech such man and ech of hise successouris *ouȝten* be waar that he breke not the condicioun of the ȝift to him and to hise successouris mad, *lest* he bi thilk breking *bringe* yn greet losse to hise successouris' 399 sq.; 'Cristen men ouȝten be waar forto entirmete with like ymagis, *lest that* thei *falle* not into lijk defaut' 199.

§ 79. Temporal Clauses.

a) The present subjunctive is regularly used in a temporal clause relating to future time and involving the idea of purpose, condition or contingency. The clause is generally introduced by *eer, eer than:*

'thou undirnymest and blamest not hauyng the doctrine which thou ouȝtist haue, *eer than* thou *take* upon thee forto undirnyme and blame' 3; 'upon sum trouthe or gouernaunce of Goddis lawe lenger writing muste be had, *eer* it *be* sufficiently knowe, than is al the writing of Mathewis Gospel' 15; *'eer than* he *proue* thilk ii^{e}. premysse of this argument . . . certis he may not waite aftir that the conclusioun of this argument be proued or be trewe' 489. Other examples: *be* 100; *haue* 143; *come* 99.

The use, however, of the subjunctive is not quite fixed. The indicative occurs where the subjunctive would have been expected; and sometimes forms of different moods are used together in the same clause:

'aftir that he hath founde cause to blame or commende he myȝte blame or commende; and not bifore eer he eny suche causis *fyndeth,* and eer he aftir eny suche causis *sechith'* 48; 'the seide man mai not be put aȝens his wil out of the possessioun of the thing, eer than bi iugement of the iuge he *be* therto condempned, and sufficient compleint and proof *is* mad that the

ȝift was as is now seid maad undir condicioun to him' 399.

b) A present subjunctive of future meaning *(be, become)* appears in clauses introduced by *into tyme:*

'the brigge of Londoun . . . hath be febler and febler, and euer schal so be *into tyme* he *be* at his laste cast' 338; 'oon treuthe cometh out of an other treuthe, and he of the iii^{e}., and the iii^{e}. out of the iiii^{e}., and into tyme it *bicome* unto openest treuthis of alle othere' 29. Other examples: *be* 76, 536.

c) The preterite subjunctive of the verb *be* is found after an introductory *whanne, as soone as,* provided the subordinate clause forms part of a sentence in indirect narration:

'what skile is therto, that be bere openli bi stretis an ymage of wex . . . but if he wolde meene that thilke ymage schulde preie continueli for him in thilk place of pilgrimage bi nyȝt and dai, *whanne* he *were* departid frothens and *were* come hoom aȝen' 197. 'And thanne anoon . . . *as soone as* the iubile ȝeer *were* come, the same hous or feeld schulde turne aȝen into the lordschip of the clergie' 289 (governed by a preceding: *it was ordeyned of God).*

Note: *whanne euer* is always followed by the indicative, e. g. 7, 61, 92, 26, 165.

§ 80. Consecutive Clauses.

A subjunctive of present tense (especially the verb *be)* stands in the consecutive clause, if the consequence is to be described, not as something actual, but as an intended or anticipated effect. This use of the subjunctive mood is consequently related to that noted in final and hypothetical clauses of present tense[1].

[1] Mätzner (cf. II, 137) makes a difference between the consecutive clause "welcher einfach die Folge einer Handlung ausspricht" and the clause in which "die im Hauptsatze mitenthaltene Tendenz oder Absicht

'he (sc. Seint Paul) ȝeueth instruccioun of correpcioun and of correpting ... so that it *be* do with honeste and reuerence' 1; 'God schal make that the crosse schal the more prouoke him or schal make him silf so that he the more *be* prouokid bi the cros into the seid forȝeuyng' 266; 'Iames schewith .. how hard it is a man to reule his tunge, that he not therbi *synne*' 422; 'he (sc. Crist) wolde ech man aftir him comyng forto be so perfit that he *worschipe* God in spirit and in trouthe of Goddis being' 196.

Examples of subjunctive mood after a negative principal sentence are especially worthy of notice:

'y wole not ... that thei haunte so miche or so ofte the uce of suche visible signes, that thilk haunte and uce *lette* hem fro uce of a better exercise' 273 sq.; 'this is not vice of so greet fors that for it ymagis *be* put doun' 159; 'thei (sc. the ymagis) mowen not be multiplied so wijde that at ech chirche, at ech chapel, at ech stretis eende ... *be* sett such an ymage' 183 sq.

Note 1. The consecutive clause is sometimes introduced by *that is to seie,* being thus chiefly designed as an explanation of the purport of the principal sentence:

'the best gouernaunce in this mater is this: forto suffre Holi Scripture abide withinne his owne termys and boundis, and not entre into the boundis and the riȝt of lawe of kinde: *that is to seie, that* he not *usurpe* eny grounding ... and so that he not *wrongee* the lawe of kinde' 70; 'Wherfore nedis folewith that in the seid text ... this word 'graued thing' muste nedis bitokene in the ii^{e}. now spokun

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reflektiert wird". In the first kind of clauses the subjunctive is caused from "die bei der Intensität der Haupthandlung vorgestellte oder mitgesetzte Wirkung".

maner, *that is to seie,* that he *bitokene* and *signifie* oonli a graued God' 144[1].

Note 2. The indicative mood states the consequence as something independent of the speaker's thought:

'Mankinde in this lijf is so freel, that forto make into him sufficient remembraunce of thingis . . . he *nedith* not oonli heereable rememoratijf signes' 209; 'such is the tre, which is the fruyt of the same tree; so that bi the fruyt of the tree the same tree *is* knowun, whether he be good or bad' 321.

§ 81. Modal Clauses.

a) Clauses expressing hypothetical comparison often have a preterite subjunctive. Cf. Mätzner II, 133; III, 540 sq.; Western § 129.

'Thus thei wolen seie sturdili and folili, *as thouȝ* the lawe of God *were* not ellis saue what is writun in the Bible' 171; 'thouȝ persoones in a religioun . . . techen and lyuen other wise than her religioun wolde that thei schulde teche and lyue, ȝit therbi cometh noon hurte to the religioun, *as that* therfore the religioun *were* the wors or were badde and unleeful' 490; 'No man conceyue . . . that y meene and lete *as thouȝ* y neuere *failid*' 91; 'as thouȝ he *seide* thus' 421; 'as it *were*' 66, 67 etc.

Note 1. The present indicative *(is)* is used instead of the subjunctive in the following example:

'Thei that wolen aske and seie, thus, "Where fyndist thou it groundid in Holi Scripture?" *as thouȝ* ellis it *is* not worthi to be take for trewe . . . asken tho whilis . . . unresonabili' 48 sq.

Note 2. If used otherwise than in hypothetical sense, *as that* is followed by the indicative:

[1] *it (nedis) folewith* requires the indicative mood, e. g. 10, 20, 23, 96.

'Of whiche (sc. treuthis) summe ben positijf lawis ... and summe ben not lawis, *as that* thre persoones *ben* oon God, and that the ii^e^. of hem *was* mad man' 39; 'the parti of a thing mai be clepid under and bi the name of his hool, *as that* men *seien* thei han lyued xl. wynteris, meenyng therbi thei han lyued fourti ȝeeris' 151; '*As that* this *is* trewe y comytte me to the doom of experience' 212.

In the last clause *as* is only employed to emphasize the following *that*. For a similar use compare the phrases:

'as in that' 21; *'as bi that'* 43; 'he *as in thilk speche* groundith not thilk gouernaunce' 23. See also Mätzner III, 546.

b) The present subjunctive *be* appears in the subordinate clause of a complex sentence introduced by *the ... the* and a following comparative. Cf. Mätzner II, 140; III, 549; Western § 132.

'the more eny treuthe ... *be* brouȝt in to examinacioun of arguyng, the more trewe ... he schal be seen' 99.

§ 82. Causal Clauses.

The subjunctive implies a cause which does not really exist:

'for as miche as it *were* ouer cumberose to his persoon ... that the king schulde sitte and iuge in ech cause of deeth ... therfore he committith his power and auctorite to temporal lordis' 367.

§ 83. Relative Clauses.

The subjunctive indicates a mere supposition on the part of the speaker:

'ellis this preest toke upon him a deede, which *were* not morali vertuose to him' 313; 'The iii^e^. principal processe of the Newe Testament, which *seeme*

to meete azens the seid gouernaunce of prelatis endewing is write, Math. xx^e c.' 298[1].

§ 84. Summary.

In conclusion, the following statements may be adduced relating to the subjunctive mood.

a) The present subjunctive is of frequent use in Pecock[2]. The preterite subjunctive occurs only sporadically except in the case of *were* and *hadde* and in conditional clauses of rejected condition and is regularly supplanted by periphrases with *schulde* and *wolde*.

b) The sequence of tenses, as stated by Kellner, Outlines § 371, is strictly adhered to, except in the case of clauses implying unreality or a mere supposition (compare especially examples given under conditional and concessive clauses).

c) The indicative begins to gain ground on the subjunctive and the two moods are sometimes confused. Compare its use especially in conditional, concessive and temporal clauses.

Chapter V.

Auxiliaries.

A. Haue and Be.

§ 85. The perfect and pluperfect tenses of several verbs are formed sometimes with *haue* and sometimes with *be,* according to whether stress is laid on the action itself or on the resulting state. Cf. Mätzner II, 80 sq. The following are the verbs which occur:

come: 'the feend hath deceyued... men and wommen whiche han worschipid ymagis and *han come* to ymagis in

[1] Babington (foot-note Rp. 228) proposes to read *myzte seeme*. It does not seem necessary to assume a clerical error of this kind.

[2] Compare for instance the subjunctive in final and consecutive clauses, which rarely occurs in Morte d'Arthur. See Baldwin, §§ 222–226.

pilgrimage' 194; 'if into eny suche (sc. heresies) ȝe *ben come*' 69.

falle = "fall, happen": 'tho reders *han fallen* out into bering of greet indignacioun anentis this present sectis' 496; 'yuel which ellis ... wolde *haue falle*' 392; 'if thei into eny errouris *weren falle*' 9; 'the pouerte ... into which thei *ben falle*' 508.

growe: 'persoones, whiche ... *han growen* into greet notabilnes' 517; 'unto tyme his witt *be growen* hiȝer' 131.

turne: 1) tr. 'eer than he *haue turnede* or chaungid the iewelis into money' 557.

2) itr. 'as soone as eny man *were* come and *turned* hoom fro the market' 468.

§ 86. *Haue* is used with the infinitive to express duty or obligation.

'maters where yn resoun *hath to deeme*' 72; 'doom of resoun *hath not forto weerne* and reproue ymagis' 149.

§ 87. *Be* with the infinitive indicates duty, necessity, purpose, possibility. Cf. Mätzner II, 36; Sweet, N. E. Gr. II, 2297. Active infinitive:

'if a man, whanne he *is to wirche* a good werk, schulde bithenke him' 229 sq; 'the conclusion ... *is* also needis *to be* trewe' 240; 'Cephas ... is also a word of Sire tunge, in which it *is* as miche *to seie* as fundament or ground' 438; 'the place of Holi Writt iii^{e}. Reg. xi^{e}. c. .... *is* not *forto reproue* alle maners of ymagis' 145; 'thouȝ it (sc. couent) appeire as myche as it *is to appeire* bi his natural condicion' 346.

Passive infinitive:

'the uce of thilk thing *is to be shoned, eschewid,* and *avoidid*' 227.

For impersonal constructions see Gender in the Infinitive § 119.

B. Schal and Wole.

§ 88. These verbs will be dealt with under the following heads 1. *Schal* and *wole* as modal verbs in general. 2. *Schal* and *wole* as tense-auxiliaries. 3. *Schulde* and *wolde* in the consequence-clause of conditional sentenses. 4. *Schal* and *wole* as subjunctive auxiliaries in subordinate clauses. — Examples of *schal* and *wole* in direct questions and in indirect discourse will be given under the first two heads, as these uses of *schal* and *wole* do not differ from their modal and temporal uses in general.

1. Schal and Wole as Modal Verbs in general.

§ 89. *Schal.*

Schal is in all three persons primarily used to indicate various shades of necessity and compulsion, arising from some external influence. It thus serves to express a) duty, command, law, prohibition; b) promise, menace, prophecy, assurance, prediction.

a) 1 pers. *'Schal* y seie that an hous hauyng an hundrid feet in brede is groundid upon lond in which he takith not but oon foot?' 25.

2 pers. 'thou *schuldist* rather sette the forto not loue money' 559.

3 pers. present. 'And in the while the crucifix is in discoueryng the principal preest with the queer *schal* falle doun to grounde . . . and *schal* singe thus' 206; 'manye othere suche mennys lawis ben . . . how the masse *schal* be seid, and how the mynystris *schulen* be araied, and what officis thei *schulen* do' 460; *'schal* therfore thilk aldirman be slayn or be banyschid out of the citee' 157.

3 pers. preterite. 'Wherfore alle the now rehercid thingis and deedis *schulden* be not had and usid in the bodili chirche of Christen peple' 562; 'whi *schulde* it be seid that' 58.

In indirect discourse: 'the sect of Tacianys, which helden that fleisch *schulde* not be ete' 498.

b) 2 pers. 'rede there and frothens forth into the eende of the argument, and thou *schalt* se ful open proof for this now purposed and spoken entent' 539 sq.

3 pers. present. 'No man *schal* perfitli ... undirstonde Holi Scripture... but if he be bifore weel and perfitli... leerned in moral philsophie' 43; 'who euer is a persoon of saluacioun, *schal* soone undirstonde the trewe meenyng of Holi Scripture' 54; 'the now seid trewe and dewe undirstonding of Holi Scripture *schal* not be hid to seehers after it, saue to hem whiche *schulen* perische' 54.
In indirect discourse: 'Holi Writt seith that the preier *schal* saue the sijk man' 264.

3 pers. preterite. All instances are in indirect discourse: 'a womman vowid that of a summe of siluer *schulde* be mad an ymage of God' 172 sq.; 'he (sc. God) denouncid before and bihiȝte bifore in maner of laud to Peter that it *schulde* be doon' 439; 'Crist prophecied that Marie Magdalen *schulde* so do' 180; 'Petir seide that sectis of perdicioun ... *schulden* come' 489; 'Crist seide to Peter that he *schulde* be clepid Cephas' 434.

§ 90. *Wole.*

a) *Wole* implies intention and determination, wish and propensity, all with reference to the free will and choice of the subject in the sentence. In this original sense it is used in all three persons.

1 pers. 'y *wole* leie myn arme to be smyte of' 52.

2 pers. 'thin owne seiyng that thou *wolt* folewe Holi Writt' 172; 'whi *wolt* not thou thanne handle money as othere men handlen' 558.

3 pers. present. 'Se there who so *wole* the proof mad there in his lengthe' 163; 'Who euer *wole* se more

proof for this ... conclusion, rede he in The book of worschiping' 166.

3 pers. preterite. *'wolde* God that' 48 etc. (= "would to God"); 'How euer *wolden* Crist and Paul calle persoones fadir and modir to me, but if tho persoones weren verrili fadir and modir to me' 419; 'bi cause that thilk lijflode *wolde* continueli schrinke, and the costis *wolde* contynueli growe and encrece' 347; 'oon man *wolde* understonde a text in this maner, and another man *wolde* understonde it in an other dyvers maner' 86.

b) The sense of propensity passes into that of repeated action in the following examples:

'thei ȝeuen a name propre to hem silf and clepen hem silf "knowun men", as thouȝ alle othere than hem ben unknowun; and whanne oon of hem talkith with an other of hem of sum other iii^{e}. man, the heerer *wole* aske thus: Is he a knowen man?' 53; 'in the oold testament it is seid that men weren so sure schuters that thei *wolden* not faile in her schot' Fol. 72 b.

c) *Wole* is in a few cases equivalent to "ought, requires to", this sense being developed from that of wish and desirability applied to impersonal notions in passive sentences:

'aȝens this myschaunce that yuel cometh out of the good, the discrecioun and wijsdom *wolde* be had, which is had ...' 228; 'ȝit in this maner *wolde* be had this special consideracioun ...' 514.

A similar use of *wolde* is noted in Shakespeare by Abbott (Shakesp. Gr. § 329) and by Storm (Eng. Phil. I, 2, 961 sq.). With reference to sentences such as: "golden opinions from all sorts of people, which *would* be worn now in their newest gloss", "in his royalty of nature Reigns that which *would* be feared", Storm rejects the conjecture that *would* is used for *should* and says: "Vielmehr ist hier *'wollen'* der Grundbegriff: *would* =

würde fordern, sollte ... Wenn der Begriff des Wollens auf Sachen übertragen wird, geht er ganz natürlich dazu über, etwas mehr unpersönliches, die Erfordernisse der Umstände auszudrücken."

Note 1. *Wole* is sometimes used as an independent verb in cases where Modern English would employ expressions such as, "will have, want, wish" etc. (cf. Ljunggren I, 31; I. Schmidt § 321,5; Cent. Dict. p. 6926).

'which (sc. legende of Siluester) noman can telle who wroot it, neither whens it came, or whidir it *wole*' 353; 'Holi Scripture *wole* a man to loue al what God *wole* him loue, and hate al what God *wole* him hate' 114; 'more than resoun *wole* that he be worschipid' 159.

Note 2. As an independent verb, *wole* is, however, mostly supplied by *wilne* (< O. E. *wilnian*) and *wille* (< O. E. *willian*).

'he (sc. Crist) loueth us and *wilneth* oure goostli profit more than we us silf *willen*' 467; 'aboue these now seid bischopis, *wilned* and ordeyned by the Apostlis to be, the Apostlis *willeden* and meeneden an othir degree and state in preestbode to be aboue bischopis' 447; 'thilk same gouernaunce counseilid and *willid*' 111 sq. Other examples: *'willith'* 473, 111; *'willid'* 382, 434; *'wilne'* 418 (followed by acc. with infin.); *'wille'* 304 (followed by passive infin.); *'wilne'* 348 (followed by that-clause).

2. Schal and Wole as Tense-Auxiliaries.

§ 91. *Schal.*

a) An intermediate stage between the purely modal and the purely temporal uses of *schal* is marked by cases of promise or prediction, where it is often difficult to say whether the modal or the future sense prevails[1].

[1] In Modern English "shall" is used in "the solemn prophetical style", "will" denotes "a common prediction"; see Ljunggren I, 20 sq. Compare also: ib. II, 16 and Mason, English Grammar § 213.

To the instances given above (in § 89 b) may here be added the following, which would seem to mark a further advance towards the sense of mere futurity.

'as anoon aftir *schal* be proued' 12; 'as *schal* be schewid anoon aftir in the next chapiter' 444; 'ful miche good (as y hope) *schal* come bi the reeding ... of the now spoken bokis' 47; 'Whi ... y haue seid these wordis welnyȝ or weel toward *schal* appere and be seen bi what *schal* be seid aftir' 20; 'gouernauncis ... whiche *schulen* be tretid aftir in this present book' 48; 'For sotheli ful soone *schulen* tho persoones thanne stonde at her wittis eende, and ful rude be where yn the clerk *schal* sprede him silf abrode in large cleernes' 129.

b) Pure futurity is regularly expressed by *schal* in all persons, as was the case already in Early Middle English (1100—1250)[1].

1 pers. 'that y *schal* proue, so that y sette bifore a reule or supposicioun' 155.

3 pers. 'not for that he (sc. God) loueth his chirche lasse than eny creaturris louen or loueden or *schulen* loue it' 334; 'peple han be and ben and *schulen* be so freel' ... 542.

In indirect discourse: 'y hope noon holder of the iiii^{e}. opinioun *schal* mowe for schame holde the same iiii^{e}. opinioun' 104; 'it is to hope ... that thei *schulen* no longer so erre' 223; 'y doute not but that ȝe *schulen* consente' 69; 'the sect of Eraclitis; which also therwith helden that oonli chast persoones *schulen* come into heuen' 494; 'the sect of Chirencianys, whiche helden that aftir the general resurreccion men and wommen thanne rising *schulden* lyue in greet

[1] Cf. Ljunggren I, 4; for Modern English compare ib. II. 87 sq. and I. Schmidt §§ 323, 2; 322, 4; 324.

fleischli welthe' 497; 'Crist meened therbi, that that the ydolatrie of Samaritanys *schulde* ceese' 234.

Obs. It is worthy of note that in the above examples of indirect discourse the subject in the subordinate clause differs from that of the principal sentence.

§ 92. *Wole.*

a) In the first stage of its development towards becoming an auxiliary of future tense the sense of modality is also to be seen in this verb inasmuch as the action spoken of is dependent on the will or determination of the subject in the sentence. Very common examples are those of *wole* with an infinitive such as *graunte, seie, proue, holde.*

1 pers. 'That this conclusioun is trewe *y wole* proue thus' 167 (compare 'y *schal* proue' § 91 b).

2 pers. 'Whanne y come to thee in thi parisch chirche thou *wolt* perauenture *seie* to me thus' 150;

3 pers. 'This ech man *wole* sone *graunte*' 143; 'which no wijs man *wole graunte*' 24; 'perauenture thei *wolen seie* thus' 150; 'he *wole holde* us excusid, thouȝ we folewe an erroneose doom of resoun' 75; 'Who euer for deuocioun and loue which he hath to Holi Scripture *wole holde* . . .' 117.

In indirect discourse: 'men trowiden that tho spiritis *wolden* so ioyne hem silf with tho ymagis in so curiose . . . maner' 244; 'thei wisten weel that tho religiose persoones *wolden* first expende aboute her religioun and aboute hem silf' 552; 'Constantyn seide that therfore he *wolde* go into the Greek cuntre, and wolde bilde a newe citee for his empire at Bizancium' 365; 'If Crist bihiȝte that he *wolde* upon Peter bilde his chirche, y aske whether Crist meened that he *wolde* bilde his chirche upon the persoon of Peter' 442.

Obs. It is worthy of note that in the above examples of indirect discourse the subjects of the principal and subordinate sentences are in most cases identical.

b) *Wole* is often used with reference to impersonal subjects when there is an idea of tendency or expected effect, dependent on the subject's own nature, to be traced in the verb.

'Summe moral vicis comyng bi occasioun of a vertuose gouernaunce ben litle, and suche as *wolen* soone be amendid with labour' 158; 'In whiche answeris thouȝ y haue write or seid more than *wole* anoon accorde with the capacite of the Bible men' 85;' as experience ther upon to be take anoon *wole* schewe' 12; 'as experience *wole* weel schewe' 184; 'tho placis ben manye, as open assay in reding Scripture *wole* suerly schewe' 44; 'y dare avowe ... that in ech of these ... placis the processe considerid weel ... *wole* schewe openli ynouȝ, that ...' 145.

c) The above significations of *wole* easily pass into that of mere futurity. Thus *wole* came to be used as an auxiliary of the future tense alongside, though not so frequently as, *schal;* sometimes it retained something of its modal force, sometimes it entirely dropped it.

'it is and was the wil of Crist ... that with this hiȝest heed of the chirche schulden be louȝer heedis ... and in the multitude which the good reule of the chirche ... *wolde* aske' 443; 'The prelate muste make thilk gouernaunce to be doon in an other maner and in an other reule, as resoun for the tyme *wole* deeme' 108; 'If lordis and ladies ... dwelle nyȝ to religiose persoones, tho persoones *wolen* be bi so miche the more waar and ferd forto trespace and do amys' 550.

Finally, some examples of the two verbs in their future uses may be cited in parallel columns in order

to show their occasional confusion. The only difference which may be supposed to have existed here is, that *schal* is used to express something which was undoubtedly to happen, and that with emphasis.

wole	*schal*
'if it be weel ... aboute consiederid, it *wole* be seen that religioun is a ful noble hegge forto close yn him men and wommen' 541; 'if this present argument be take into perfit and ful avise ... it *wole* be seen that he proueth myȝtili this present v^e^. conclusioun' 541; 'hard it *wole* be to saue Aristotil there fro contradiccioun' Fol. 68 b; 'What euer eny man ... obiecte aȝens this now seid forbering of moneyes touching, this *wole* euer be founde trewe' 560;	'the lenger he (sc. goold) abidith the examynacioun of fier, the more cleerli it *schal* be seen that he is fals and not trewe gold' 99; 'to ech diligent considerer upon the processis forth and aftir, bifore and behinde ... it *schal* be riȝt liȝtli and soone seen, that...' 100; 'if this be considerid, tho chapitres *schulen* be seen forto not repugne bitwixe hem silf' 408; 'y can proue the contrarie, as *schal* be seen aftir' 291;
'what othere iȝen or seing power hath God ȝouen to mankinde forto therwith se, than which at sumtyme *wolen* faile and erre?' 74;	'what othere eeris or power of heering hath God ȝoue to man, than which at sumtyme *schulen* faile and erre in deemyng?' 74;
'God hath ȝouen to us noon othere iȝen ... than whiche *wolen* at sumtime erre... and noon othere feet than whiche *wolen* ofte slide' 74.	'what othere feet or leggis hath God ȝoue to man, than whiche *schulen* at sumtyme slide' 74.

In the following example *schal* and *wole* are used indiscriminately in the same sentence:

> 'Dynys ... declarith that ... in tho daies was usid a certein fourme bi him silf forto ordeyne hem

whiche *wolden* be monkis, and an other fourme bi him silf forto ordeyne hem which *wolden* be preestis, and another fourme bi him silf for to ordeyne hem whiche *schulden* be bischopis' 532.

3. Schulde and Wolde in the Consequence-Clause of Conditional Sentences.

§ 93. The predicate in the consequence-clause of a conditional sentence is regularly constituted by *schulde* or *wolde* and the infinitive of the verb used. The auxiliaries are employed in the three persons according to the ordinary use of *schal* and *wole*. *Schulde* serves, as a rule, to indicate a necessary or inevitable consequence; whereas *wolde* expresses will, propensity and sometimes likelihood[1].

a) *schulde*

'thei (sc. the hethen philsophiris) hem silf knewe of noon reuelacioun mad to hem bi God ther upon; and if eny such reuelacioun hadde be maad to hem, thei *schulden* bifore othere men haue knowe it so to be mad to hem' 14; 'if this seiyng were trewe, thanne the clergie *schulde* not and ouȝte not sille anoon forth with eny hous or feeld' 290; 'for thanne the thing groundid *schulde* be bifore his ground '23; 'if the sufficient leernyng and kunnyng of eny gouernaunce ... schulde as miche or more come fro an other thing, as or than fro this thing which is seid to be his ground, thanne thilk other thing *schulde* be lijk miche or more and rather the ground of thilk gouernaunce than this thing *schulde* so be; and also thilk gouernaunce ... *schulde* haue ii. diuerse

[1] Compare Ljunggren II, 20: "In *Middle English* ... *should* is generally used when a necessary or unquestionable consequence is to be expressed; *would*, when it does not retain its modal sense, seems to express the inference in a more modest or cautious way".

groundis and *schulde* be bildid upon ii. fundamentis' 11. Other examples: pp. 9, 23, 24, 50, 86, 148 etc.

b) *wolde*

'neither Iacob *wolde* haue dwellid and serued so long in the hous of Laban . . . if the hous of Laban hadde be wemmed so cursidli as with the synne of ydolatrie' 174; 'for avoiding of perel and yuel, which ellis myȝte and *wolde* haue falle' 392; 'if such stable and fix endewing were not maad to the curat, hise paraschenys myȝten and *wolden* him trouble with querelis' 392; 'thouȝtis whiche *wolde* come into him, if he were in his owne hous' 235. Other examples: pp. 86, 150, 529 etc.

Note 1. In the following sentence, *wolde* exactly corresponds to a pure future tense:

'If ensaumplis weren sett to al this doctrine, weel y woot the doctrine *wolde* be undirstonde the bettir' 78.

Note 2. *Wolde* in the phrases *it wolde se(e)me* 388, 322 etc.; *it wolde seme folewe* 288; *(it) wolde folewe* 24, 291, 108, 327 etc. is used to imply likelihood and uncertainty. *It wolde folewe* is as much as to say "it would seem to follow" whereas *schulde folewe* means "ought to follow".

wolde: 'sithen Holi Scripture makith mensioun . . . of treuthis longing to natural philsophi and approueth hem there weel to be treuthis, *it wolde folewe* that Holi Scripture groundith treuthis of natural philsophie; which no wijs man wole graunte' 24.

schulde (occurs only once): 'herof may not be take that Crist therbi schulde seie or teche pilgrimage to be unleeful, no more than if he had seid, that the hour schal come in which neither in thilk hil neither in Ierusalem schal eny preching of Goddis lawe be,

schulde folewe that therbi Crist schulde teche preching of Goddis lawe to be unleeful' 234 sq.

Compare the difference in Modern English between "it should seem" and "it would seem". "To say that a thing *should* seem to be true is to say that it ought to seem so and almost necessarily seems so; to say that it *would* seem true is to say that, while there are reasons for holding an opposite view, the preponderance of evidence is on the side of its being true." (Century Dict. 5466).

4. Schal and Wole as Subjunctive Auxiliaries in Subordinate Clauses.

§ 94. Subject and Object Clauses and Appositional Clauses.

a) The present subjunctive is often supplied by periphrases with *schulde* and the infinitive. For Modern English compare Mätzner II, 110; I. Schmidt § 325, 3 b.

'it is profitable to men of Londoun and unsparable that such a meyr and such a bischop *schulden* be' 519; 'skile is ther noon that a man bi suche gode deedis *schulde* make a place to be holi' 224; 'thouȝ Poul bidde ofte that a man *schulde* loue his wijf, and that the wijf *schulde* obeie to hir husbonde' 15; 'Holi Scripture wole that men *schulden* lacke the coueryng which wommen schulden haue' 118; 'Ech of these gouernauncis . . . mowe be knowen bi doom of resoun . . . that is to seie . . . that a man *schulde* loue him silf and his neiȝbore as him silf' 13. Other instances: pp. 120, 125, 193, 196 etc.

Note. A periphrasis with *schal* is rare:

'God schal make that the crosse *schal* the more prouoke him or schal make him silf so that he the more be prouokid bi the cros into the seid forȝeuyng' 266; 'he dredith lest he *schal* not make a sure eende into his saluacioun' 509. Another example occurs p. 293.

b) The preterite subjunctive is regularly supplied by *schulde* and the infinitive.

'it was no nede that manie bischopis *schulden* be thanne upon dyuerse multitudis of preestis' 436; 'God bade that al the lond ... *schulde* be departid bi lott' 278; 'Thouȝ God forbade that the kinrede of Leuy ... *schulde* haue part in the seid firste departing' 279; 'Crist comaundid a man ... that he *schulde* loue ech neiȝbore as him silf' 298; 'this forbode mad to Iewen preestis, that thei *schulden* not haue unmouable endewing' 291.

Note. Verbs of asking are construed with *schulde* in the subordinate clause as far as examples are found[1]:

'he askid of hem, that thei *schulden* of her ricchessis ... sende sum almes to poor men' 317; 'he askid of Focas, that Focas *schulde* ȝeue to him thilk hous Panteon' 362; 'he preied that ricches *schulde* not be ȝouun to him' 345; 'Damasus was preied of Ierom, that Damasus *schulde* write to Ierom' 360.

The phrase *wolde God*, however, can be followed by either auxiliary:

'Wolde God thilk men and wommen... *schulden* not were couercheefis' 123; 'wolde God that thei *wolden* assaie perfitli what tho now seid bokis ben and *wolden* weel kunne hem' 48; 'Wolde God that thei *wolden* now take heede to this present book' 512.

§ 95. Conditional Clauses.

a) In clauses expressing possible contingency *schulde* is regularly used as a substitute for the preterite subjunctive. *Wolde* always admits of a modal sense.

schulde	*wolde*
'if thou *schuldist* ete in bodili maner noon other mete	'in caas that y *wolde* holde azens thee, and seie that it

[1] Compare Ljunggren (II, 85), who there gives several examples of *wolde* after verba precandi from Middle English authors (Maundeville, Gower, Lydgate). Baldwin (§ 303) cites some instances from Malory.

than hony it schulde not be to thee hoolsum' 68;

'euen riȝt as a man iugid amys and were foule bigilid and took his mark amys, if he *schulde* trowe that in hony were al the cheer . . . which is in al other mete . . . so he is begilid . . . if he therfore trowe that . . .' 67;

'grete myschefis schulden be multiplied, if men *schulden* be iugis in her owne causis' 382.

Other examples: pp. 386, 317, 477 etc.

is not to be do . . . loke how thou woldist in this case answere' 122 sq.

'Forwhi thanne God had be contrarie to him silf; but if thou *woldist* seie that God wole now weel allowe the clergie forto haue and use ymagis' 138;

'in caas a greet clerk *wolde* go into a librarie and ouer studie there a long proces of feith writun in the Bible, and *wolde* aftirward reporte and reherce the sentence of the same proces to the peple at Poulis Cros in a sermoun . . . schulde the heerers of thilk reportyng . . . seie . . .' 30.

b) Clauses in present time do not often appear as auxiliary periphrases. *Wole* + infinitive may involve the notion of contingency which is then generally connected with a sense of modality, whereas no such idea of contingency appears in the few examples of *schal* which have been found.

wole

'more proof therto ech man may se at ful, if he *wole* rede and studie in the book clepid *The iust apprising of Holi Scripture*' 52; 'if eny man *wole* be aboute forto answere herto and seie, that not alle men and wommen mowe come into this, that thei schulen kunne rede writingis in bokis . . . thanne the seid arguers wolen sette to and fortofie her partie thus'

192; 'but if ech man *wole* thus feele in this mater, he is duller than eny man ouȝte to be' 29.

schal

'if y *schal* seie what hath be seid to myn owne heering, sotheli it hath be seid to me thus' 66; 'if y *schal* seie and speke aftir sure fundamental encerche' 412 sq.; 'The leernyng and kunnyng of the seid lawe of kinde ... is so necessarie to Cristen men, that it mai not be lackid of hem if thei *schulen* thriftili serue to God' 43.

§ 96. Concessive Clauses introduced by *thouȝ* (= "even if"), Modal Clauses introduced by *as thouȝ*, *as if*, as well as Indefinite Relative Clauses denoting a future action employ auxiliaries in the same way as Conditional Clauses. *Schal* + infinitive is sometimes found in the sense of contingency.

a) Concessive Clauses.

schal

'thouȝ y *schal* not be understonde sufficientli of the lay reders... me thinkith y muste needis seie so miche ther of as y haue now seid' 78;

'tho chapitres ben not betwixe hem silf repugnant, thouȝ thei *schulen* so seme to be' 408.

schulde

'thouȝ y *schulde* seie no more than this now seid, certis it were ynouȝ for answere to the first semyng skile' 510; 'thouȝ men *schulden* be iugis, ȝit so muste thei be bi uce of the seid resoun' 86 sq.

wolde

'he mai be sikir that the conclusioun is trewe; thouȝ alle the aungelis in heuen *wolden* seie and holde that thilk conclusioun were not trewe' 8;

'thouȝ a man *wolde* denye ech miracle which Apostle dide ... we myȝten not weerne him so denie' 186.

Note. *Schulde* and *wolde* sometimes occur in the same sentence and much to the same effect.

'If the King of Ynglond dwellid in Gascony, and *wolde* sende a . . . letter or epistle into Englond, bothe to iugis and to othere men, that ech of hem schulde kepe the pointis of the lawe of Englond, and thouȝ he *wolde* reherce tho pointis and gouernauncis . . . and thouȝ he *schulde* stire and prouoke . . . hem therto, ȝit it ouȝte not be seid that thilk epistle groundid eny of tho lawis or gouernauncis of Englond' 21 sq.

b) Modal Clauses.

'as thouȝ y *schulde* seie' 3; 'as thouȝ sche *schulde* therbi meene' 484.

'Thei . . . asken tho whilis in lijk maner unresonabili and lijk unskilfulli . . . as if thei *wolden* aske and seie thus' 49.

c) Indefinite Relative Clauses.

'who euer *schal* thenke that thei ben ouer hard . . . y wole vouche saaf that he ouerlepe hem' 131;

'who euer *wole* seie and holde that forto haue and use ymagis . . . is not a point of Goddis lawe . . . may se his owne confusioun' 172;

'thilk gouernaunce is unleeful . . . how euer miche goostli or worldli good *schal* come . . . bi the same gouernaunce' 433;

'the conclusioun ouȝte be avowid for trewe, what euer creature *wole* seie the contrarie' 8;

'where euer in the world *schulde* be prechid thilk gospel, it schulde be seid that . . .' 181.

'what euer moral vertu a man *wole* take and use' 487.

Note. The use of *shall* in indefinite relative clauses should be compared with *shall* in ordinary relative clauses, which sometimes assumes a similar sense of indefinite futurity. Cf. Ljunggren II, 96.

'the hous or feeld which a lay persoon *schal* ȝeue to hem' 290; summe chapitris, whiche a man *schal*

rede in tho bokis' 408; 'Now, Sires, whiche *schulen* rede this book' 65.

§ 97. Final Clauses.

The ordinary auxiliary is *schulde; wolde* involves modality.

a) The principal sentence has a present tense:
'it mai perteyne weel ynouȝ to Holi Scripture that he reherce suche now seid gouernauncis and treuthis... And so he dooth... that bi thilk rehercing... tho men *schulden* be bothe remembrid, stirid, prouokid... forto the rather performe... tho same so rehercid... gouernancis' 32; 'y haue leefir so do than forto seie and write lasse; lest therbi *schulde* seeme to hem, that sufficient answere couthe not be ȝouun' 85; 'it is no nede forto seie ther of eny thing unperfitli and unfully... lest perauenture... enemyes myȝten and *wolden* take colour that her parti is not so miche confoundid' 564.

b) The principal sentence has a preterite tense:
'therfore God purueied manye dyuerse religiouns to be in the chirche, for that... the mo of the peple *schulde* be prouokid and stirid therbi into religioun' 522; 'God... chose thilke placis and thilke ymagis forto that in hem *schulden* be mad solempne and more feruent and more deuoute remembrauncingis' 185.

§ 98. Temporal Clauses.

a) *Schal* and *schulde* indicate contingency, as in Modern English. Cf. Ljunggren II, 101.
'eer y *schal* come doun into the special profis of tho xi. gouernauncis, y schal proue...' 110; 'more leernyng and knowing muste be had upon him (sc. gouernaunce), eer he *schal* be sufficientli leerned' 14; 'eer oon of tho writingis *schulde* be ouer rad perfitli, a gretter tyme schulde be spend than in the perfit

ouer seing of alle tho seid passiouns' 213; 'if no iuge schulde be had forto deeme bitwixe hem so diuersely holding, eende schulde ther neuere be of her strijf, into tyme that thei *schulden* falle into fiȝting and into werre and bateil' 86.

b) *wole* occurs only a few times:

'Wolde God that men, eer thei *wolden* blame eny mannys gouernaunce... takith his moral godenes and his moral badnes' 105. Another example occurs p. 553.

5. General Statements.

§ 99. The use of the verbs *schal* and *wole* may be summarized as follows:

a) *schal* and *wole* occur in their usual modal senses (cf. §§ 89, 90).

b) *schal* and *wole* are both used in all three persons as auxiliaries of the future tense — sometimes indiscriminately (cf. §§ 91, 92).

c) *schal,* perhaps more frequently *schulde,* is employed to denote the indefinite or contingent future in subordinate clauses; *wole* in this case involves modality (cf. §§ 96, 98).

d) *schulde* is the regular subjunctive auxiliary in clauses dependent on verbs that express wish and command, and in clauses relating to purpose (cf. §§ 94, 97).

C. May and Can.

1. May.

§ 100. *May* is used in a variety of meanings.

Its original function was to denote subjective ability or possibility dependent on something inherent in the subject of the statement, such as physical or mental power, capacity, intention. (Cf. Bosworth-Toller p. 665, Mätzner II, 142). This usage is of frequent occurrence in Pecock.

'for hiȝ dignite thei (sc. tho ymagis) wolden not... schewe that thei herden and sawen and *myȝten* move

hem silf' 246; 'heftis whiche ellis he schulde not have *mowe* uplift' Fol. 8 a; 'these thingis ben so necessarie to men that men *mowen* not lake hem' 519; 'No man *mai* leerne and kunne the hool lawe of God' 43; 'greet lordis *mowe* avorthi to haue and fynde with her costis officers undir hem' 306; 'That Holi Scripture of the Newe Testament allowith this same now seid gouernaunce, y *mai* proue thus' 437.

§ 101. The sense of ability is gradually dropped and the notions of permission, concession or simple possibility prevail.

a) permission:

'Canoun Lawe ouȝte not and *mai* not grounde eny trouthe or conclusioun which is propre to the grounding of divynyte' 33; 'the pope takith upon him forto *mowe* so dispense (sc. that eny man tweies weddid schulde be a preest)' 462; 'Where it is groundid expresseli in Scripture, that men *mowe* lete schaue her berdis' 119; 'Where is it also grondid in Holi Scripture that men *myȝten* alloweabili or schulden pleie in word bi bourding' 120.

In sentences with the passive voice the sense of being permitted refers to the subject in the active clause:

'of whiche xi. gouernauncis oon is... that pilgrimagis and offringis *mowe* be doon weel, not oonli priuely, but also openli' 4.

b) concession:

'herwith al it *mai* ful weel stonde that we *mowen* haue othere maistris in this world undir thilk principal maistir' 420; 'ȝit it *myȝte* seme that aȝens this present vii^{e}. trouthe Crist him silf spekith' 388.

c) simple possibility:

'undirnymyngis, whiche thei in othere tymes maken or *mowe* make to the clergie' 3; 'at sum while it

mai so be, that the ȝeuer or benefeter forto ȝeue mediatli ... schal be more profitable to the receyuer' 333.

§ 102. Keeping its original meaning to a certain extent' *may* is sometimes used in the consequence clause of conditional sentences, e. g.:

'more synne cometh bi wering of wommennys couercheefis ... than by uce of ymagis and bi pilgrimagis, as al the world *may* wite, if the mater be weel and thriftili examyned' 119; 'it was ordeyned of God him silf, that if a lay persoon wolde offre and ȝeue an hous or a feeld to the clergie ... the clergye *myȝte* sille this hous or feeld to an other persoon' 288; 'this *myȝte* not haue be trewe, if the seid greet endewing born upon Constantyn hadde be doon' 363.

§ 103. *May* as a Subjunctive Auxiliary.

a) *May* is never used in principal sentences to express the optative mood. This is also the case in Caxton (cf. Kellner, Caxton's Syntax § 23).

b) *May* is sometimes employed in that-clauses dependent on verbs, expressing permission. Only a few examples have been found of this usage:

'it is grauntid to hem that thei *mowe* chese and presente men to the bischop forto be persouns in othere not approprid chirchis' 368; 'it accordid with the lawe of God ... that the clergie *myȝte* receyue and haue mo housis and feeldis than thei hadden nede to occupie in her owne demenys' 289.

c) *May* occurs in final and other subordinate clauses, implying purpose.

'y schal sette forth hem heere, that men *mowen* se how tho argumentis mowen colorabili ynouȝ be assoilid' 444; 'ech man hath in ful greet charge to loue God and drede God, that he *mai* therbi be hertid and strengthid in wil forto serue God' 165;

'the seid argument hath not wherbi he *mai* haue his entent proued' 470; 'y speke not of thilk mater in special here; lest that for lengthe which this present book schulde haue . . . the mo of the comoun peple *myȝten* the wors avorthi in cost of mony forto gete to hem this present book' 562. Other examples: pp. 182, 183, 497.

2. Can.

§ 104. As an auxiliary *can* is combined with an infinitive (sometimes understood) and implies:

a) intellectual ability:

'thei schulen *kunne* rede writingis in bokis' 192; 'a man which *can* rede in bokis' 213; 'manye . . . *kunnen* bi textis and by narraciouns and parabolis and lijknessis preche ful gloriosely into plesaunce of the peple' 89.

b) subjective ability and possibility (compare the first signification of *may* § 100):

'thou schalt not *kunne* seie nay' 119; 'ellis thei *kunnen* not haue of thilk trespas forȝeuenes of God' 110; 'if thou *cannest* . . . schewe . . . that he is gilti ther of (sc. the deede); undirnyme thou and blame thou in thilk kunnyng or doctrine and in pacience: and if thou *canst* not so schewe . . . thou ouȝtist be stille' 3; 'y, bi what y *can,* am aboute . . . for to improue and reproue the seid firste opinioun' 69 sq. Other examples: pp. 89, 92, 153, 210, 351, 352, 517 etc.

Note 1. In this sense *can* is sometimes redundantly coordinated with *may*, apparently only to give more emphasis to the statement.

'but so it is, that what euer leernyng and kunnyng Holi Scripture ȝeueth upon eny of the now seid gouernauncis . . . mannis resoun *may* and *can* ȝeue the same leerning and knowing' 11 sq.; 'who *mai* not or *cannot* understonde this ii^{e}. answere . . . take he

him to the firste now bifore seid answere' 78; 'whiche *kunnen* not rede or *moun* not here the word of God red' 273; 'the holders of him (sc. opinioum) *kunnen* not and *mowe* not azens thilk experience seie nay' 103.

This kind of redundance is of frequent occurrence in Rp., e. g. *'bifore and eer'* 60; *'eer and bifore'* 489; *'alwey and euer'* 338; *'whi and wherfore'* 187, 326; *'sekir and sure'* 76.

Note 2. As an independent verb, *can* is used either transitively or intransitively:

a) in the sense of "know, get to know, learn":

'thei *kunnen* bi herte the textis of Holi Scripture' 129; 'No man mai leerne and *kunne* the hool lawe of God... but if he *can* of moral philsophi; and the more that he *can* in moral philsophie, bi so miche the more he *can* of Goddis lawe' 43; 'al what is necessarie to be leerned and *kunnen*' 15; 'the treuthe which is in this wise *kunnen*, is *kunnen* in sure certeynte' Fol. 22 b; 'if it (sc. a thing) be *kunnyd* in sure certeynte, thanne it is to be clepid science' Fol. 22 b.

b) in the phrase *kunne thank*:

'y *kunne* the *thank*' Fol. 84 a.

D. Do, Lete, Make, Owe, Must.

§ 105. Do.

Do is very little used as an auxiliary.

a) As a causative verb it occurs only once in the phrase *do to wite* = "cause one to know":

'openyng or *doing* to wite' 1.

b) It is very rarely substituted for another verb:

'without sidir and wijn and meeth, men and wommen myzte lyue ful long, and lenger than thei *doon* now' 121; 'thei preisiden God, as aungelis *diden* in

erthe' 120; 'discrete men mowe oonli lauȝe at suche folies of men, as thei *doon* at her othere folies' 156.

c) The periphrastic use is never found. In the following sentence: 'Holi Scripture hath not to *do* in him silf forto reule eny trouthe' 80, *do* is not periphrastic, but means: "has no business, concern." Cf. N. E. D. III, 566 col. 1, where the first example of this usage of *do* before an infinitive is dated 1603: "Neither any man hath to doe, to forbid and warne them".

§ 106. Lete.

Lete is a causative auxiliary:

'Cassiodor *lete* make and compile the ful famose and credible storie' 355; 'thouȝ the same vertuose gouernaunce be *lete* stonde stille and be *lete* contynued' 158; *'let* him also renne thoruȝ al Holi Scripture' 41.

§ 107. Make.

Make is the ordinary causative auxiliary:

'Salomon *made* weue ymagis of cherubin' 139; 'he schal *make* hem to be euere truauntis in the scole of God' 219; 'y can *make* it undoutabili be proued' 103. Numerous other examples: pp. 42, 254, 262, 507, Fol. 50 b, 58 c etc.

§ 108. Owe.

a) The original present *owith* is used in the sense of obligation:

'ech preest *owith* to lacke and forsake alle immouable possessiouns' 295.

b) *ouȝte* (present and past tense) denotes moral obligation as in Modern English. Examples: pp. 157, 158, 160, 304 etc.

§ 109. Must.

Present and past times imply necessity or obligation, e. g. 78, 104, 521, 535 etc.

Chapter VI.

The Infinitive.

A. *The Infinitive in general.*

1. The Infinitive with and without *to (for to).*

§ 110. As logical Subject the infinitive appears with or without *to (for to)* according to the following rules:

a) Before the predicate the infinitive has always *for to*:

'forto trete what is tauȝt in Scripture is not mych pertinent to my purpos' Fol. 9 d and many examples, e. g. 78, 121, 124, Fol. 2 c etc.

b) After the predicate the infinitive is only once found without *to* in Rp. as against a large number of cases with *to,* whereas in Fol. the simple infinitive is not rare.

α) Simple Infinitive:

'Of mannys lawe . . . it is no neede *make* eny mensioun' 458 (MS. first hand has, however, *to make*); 'it is ful unsemeli in prechouris . . . *be* so derk and so unsufficiently felyng' Fol. 6 a; 'it is sufficiently to me *knowe* that . . .' Fol. 24 b; 'And so with goddis grace he schal be delectabli enformyd as to a cristen lyuer . . . it is ful accordyng *be leernyd*' Fol. 3 d; 'it is accordyng to ech such parfit . . . beest and lijf *be ȝouun* bi kynde a witt to knowe ech bodi which bi kynde schulde needis distroie his substaunce' Fol. 10 d.

β) Prepositional Infinitive. Numerous examples are found, e. g.:

'where it is *to leerne* feith thou schalt be tauȝt in the spreding of the iv. tablis' Fol. 35 c; 'That mannys lawe forbedith not . . . the seid endewing nedith not *to proue*' 320.

§ 111. As predicative complement the infinitive takes *to, forto* after the verb *be;* after *seme* either simple or prepositional infinitive is found.

be: 'undir thre ententis . . . a man mai go in pilgrimage . . . The firste is *forto be quykli and deuoutli remembrid* in the place of pilgrimage upon Goddis worthinessis . . . or *forto haue* quietnes and soolnes to preie to God or to a Seint' 235; 'no thing is holi saue it which worchith . . . bi fre choise what resoun deemeth to be doon for God: and that is *to wirche* morali weel' 223.

seme: 'thei seemen among hem *to discorde'* 320; 'Out of this processe semeth *to folewe'* 423; 'The vi^e^. processe of Holi Scripture . . . which myȝte seeme *meete* aȝens the seid endewing of prelatis in the preesthode, is writun Math. v^e^.c'. 307; 'forto putte this present book in maner of a charge or of birthen upon men semeth *to be* not good' Fol. 2 c; 'it semeth *to folewe'* Fol. 6 c; 'it myȝte seme *folewe'* Fol. 2 c.

§ 112. As the complement of a verb the infinitive is sometimes with, sometimes without the preposition.

a) The infinitive in objective relation to a transitive verb (modal verbs and auxiliaries included).

α) Verbs expressing wish, command, request, permission, effect, intention, beginning etc. are followed by simple or prepositional infinitive.

Thus a simple infinitive is found governed by: *wole*[1] 114, Fol. 2 a; *wole haue* 623; *wille* 304; *wilne* 418; *haue leefir* 85; *bidde* 137, 472, 491; *suffre* 70, 78, 99; *forbede* 137, 211; *preie* 261; *allowe* 112; *make* 42, 103, 262, 506, 507, Fol. 31 a, 54 b etc.; *weerne* 186; *lette* 340; *helpe* 160; *kepe* Fol. 57 c; *bigynne* Fol. 7 a.

A prepositional infinitive is found following: *wole* 114, Fol. 2 a, 52 b; *wole haue* 135, Fol. 40 b; *may haue* Fol. 41 c; *wille* 111, 382, 434, 473, Fol. 59 d; *wilne*

[1] This verb *wole* is to be distinguished from the auxiliary *wole*

196; *haue leefir* 78, 91, Fol. 14 c, 31 a; *bidde* 21; *suffre* 78, 95, 317, Fol. 7 c; *forbede* 139, 211; *preie* 260; *allowe* 112; *make* 3, 73, 108, 154, 159, 173, 219, Fol. 50 b, 58 c etc.; *weerne* 169, 551; *lette* 253, Fol. 33 a; *helpe* 437; *bigynne* Fol. 7 a.

Only a few instances need be given in full:

'y turne my will forto *wille* my tresour *to be uttrid and delyuerid*' Fol. 59 d; 'dyuers it is forto seche and *wille be mad* riche bi wynnynge of tho richessis' 304; 'the deede which ellis he wolde do or *make to ceese*' Fol. 58 c; 'ȝit he not therbi *is maad lauȝe*' Fol. 54 b; 'which wirchyng deede the mannys wil or the seid inward priuey deedis of the mannys will *kepen* not *wirche* and *do*' Fol. 57 c; 'thei *bigynnen leerne* lawe' Fol. 7 a; 'thei *bigynnen to leerne* logik' Fol. 7 a.

For further examples compare § 124 (Accusative with Infinitive).

β) Verbs of physical and intellectual perception and verbs of saying and thinking are followed by the simple or the prepositional infinitive according to the following survey:

Simple infinitive appears with: *see* 238, 474, 540; *heere* 106, 149, 150, 221, Fol. 42 a, 40 d, 32 b; *fynde* Fol. 15 b; *holde* Fol. 13 b; *deme* Fol. 76 d; *iuge* Fol. 13 d, 77 a; *trowe* 76, 154, 361; *weene* 7, Fol. 6 a, 51 c; *ymagine* 269; *knowe* 71, 89; *wite* 67, 251; *knowleche* 178; *afferme* 525, 526; *proue* 373; *graunte* 246, Fol. 24 b; *schewe* Fol. 23 d.

Prepositional infinitive appears with: *see* 34, 99, 474 Fol. 8 c, 73 a; *heere* 112, Fol. 5 a, 25 a, 32 b; *feele* 448, Fol. 39 c; *fynde* 335; *holde* 423 etc., Fol. 4 d, 17 d, 51 d; *deme* 311 etc.; *iuge* 149; *trowe* 91, 145, Fol. 51 c; *weene* 141, Fol. 6 a, 51 c; *ymagine* 269; *knowe* 134, 160, 244; *knowleche* Fol. 18 a; *proue* 2, 87, Fol. 11 d; *graunte* Fol. 33 c; *schewe* 403, Fol. 34 d.

A few examples will suffice:

'thei *herden* openli in experience him (sc. Crist) *telle* to hem the articlis whiche we now bileuen' Fol. 32 b; 'Manye lesingis y haue *herd* hem *lie*' 150; 'y haue *herde* wijsdom *to be nombrid* bothe of Aristotil and of doctours as for oon of the knowal vertues' Fol. 25 a; 'y haue *herde seie* that...' Fol. 40 d; '... as we now *seen* weel nyȝ alle worldli peple *lyue*' 540; 'it *is seen to be* trewe, what y haue now seid' 474; 'the effect of choice *is seen to be* fulfillid bi willyng' Fol. 73 a.

For further examples compare §§ 123, 125 (Accusative with Infinitive).

The uncertainty of usage as between the simple and the prepositional infinitive in the groups α) and β) in Pecock was general at his time (cf. Baldwin § 237), and no rule can be set forth as determining it. The prepositional infinitives are on the whole in the majority; and many verbs not noted above that could be construed with the simple infinitive in Chaucer (see Einenkel, Streifz. p. 232 sqq. and Anglia XIII, 91 sqq.), take in Pecock the prepositional, e. g. *thenke, do* (= N. E. "make"), *teche, counseyle,* (cf. pp. 1, 102, 167, 248).

γ) Modal Verbs and Auxiliaries.

schal, wole, can, may, must, dare are followed by the simple infinitive, as was the case in earlier times (cf. Mätzner III, 3 sqq). — Instances abound (cf. pp. 3, 4, 8, 78, 145, 167, etc.).

owe (ouȝte), nede, lete are followed by either the simple or the prepositional infinitive:

owe: The present tense *owith* 295, Fol. 53 d, is combined with prepositional infinitive. The infinitive *owe* Fol. 77 a is followed by prepositional infinitive. The present or preterite *ouȝte* is followed by either in about equal proportions, e. g. 3, 7, 71, 157, 160, 232, 304,

Fol. 53 d, (simple infinitive): 26, 29, 47, 157, 232, Fol. 58 b (prepositional infinitive).

nede: 'thei *neden leerne* and *knowe*' 129; 'thei *neden* miche more *to leerne* and *knowe*' 128; 'God is such oon, that he *nedith* not *to haue* housis ouer him for to couere him fro reyne' 146.

After the impersonal *(it) nedith* the infinitive is prepositional in Rp., as is already clear from § 110 b, e. g. 'That mannys lawe forbedith not ... the seid endewing nedith not *to proue*' 320 (cf. also Mätzner III, 6).

lete: 'prechouris whiche *leten* hem silf in pulpit *to be* reulers of worthi peple' Fol. 6 a. In all other examples simple infinitive, e. g. 355, 516.

δ) The Infinitive after *than* preceded by an Auxiliary or the Verbal Phrase *haue leefir*.

The infinitive after *than, rather, leefir (more) than* has *to* or not, without regard to a preceding simple or prepositional infinitive (cf. Mätzner III, 18, 21, 55).

'thou schuldist rather *sette* thee forto not loue money with the handling of money, *than for to sette* thee and wone thee to not loue money with the not handling of money' 559; 'we ouȝte seie rather that mannys soul is maad in the same point ... in which he is couplid to he bodi ... *than forto seie* that he was maad of the hiȝ prince auctor of kinde, god ... in his owen substaunce free fro eny bodi' Fol. 9 c; 'leefir y hadde *forto write* suche maters in lay tunge, *than forto putte* hem into perel forto neuer be of me writen' Fol. 14 c; 'y haue leefir *to araie* my bokeler ... *than leue* such a bokeler unaraied' Fol. 31 a; 'no man may more *forsake* eny mater or obiect *than forsake* it uttirly' Fol. 41 d.

Note. In some of the above examples there is an auxiliary followed by two infinitives of which the second, that is to say the infinitive after *than,* takes *to.* An analogous case is to be noted in the following example:

'Also for as mych as it is seid that he muste so chese bi doom of prudence or of feith in reson . . . therfore he *muste do* it avisidli bi deliberacioun and not *to do* it, as if a man dide a deede in his sleep' Fol. 40 a, where the intervening words make the connection between the finite verb and the infinitive looser.

Before Pecock, this kind of infinitive was very sporadic; one instance occurs in Wycliffe's Sermons[1]: 'þis was greet mekenesse þat þe lord wolde come so fer to his seruaunt and *to take* of him baptym' p. 80, whereas after him in Morte d'Arthur (cf. Baldwin § 239) and in Shakespeare (cf. Abbott, Shakesp. Gr. § 350) it is fairly common. See also Mätzner III, 4 and Kellner, Outlines § 393 sq. It seems to be more than a mere chance that the only example from Pecock occurs in Fol., as this work appears to be written with less care than Rp.

b) The infinitive in adverbial relation to an intransitive verb.

Only the verb *go* is worth noting, after which both simple and prepositional infinitives occur.

α) The simple infinitive occurs once, expressing together with *go* an action: 'he may *go whistle* til he leerne bettir' Fol. 48 b.

β) A prepositional infinitive is found expressing purpose, e. g. 'Iacob *wente forto* seche . . . a wijf' 224, and consequence or result, e. g. 'thilk ensaumpling *gooth* no thing *forto weerne* bi maundement the seid endewing of preestis' 316.

§ 113. As the complement of an adjective the infinitive is mostly prepositional, e. g. after: *free* 211, *able* 136, *unable* 134, *likeli* 350, *sikir* 99, *desirose* 251, *diligent* 75, *glad* 85, *ferd* 550, but after some adjectives *(redi, woned, worthi)* the construction is not settled. (Cf. Einenkel, Anglia XIII, 103):

[1] Cf. Select English Works of John Wyclif, Vol. I, edited by T. Arnold, Oxford 1869.

redi: 'the grace which God bi his comoun uniuersal lawe is woned and is *redi* alwey ȝeue' 71; 'al the avail which the siȝt and the biholding of the iȝen mai ȝeue and is *redi forto ȝeue*' 216.

woned: 'thilk witnessing ... is *woned be clepid* a grounding of the same mater' 26; 'it is *woned be seid*' 256, Fol. 95 b; 'othere men ben *woned so forto speke*' 27; 'spechis so curiose as now adaies ben *woned to be maad*' Fol. 48 d. Other examples of prepositional infinitive: pp. 136, 214, Fol. 68 c.

worthi: 'the fadir were *worthi be blamed*' 347; 'thilk opinioun ... is not *worthi* be holde trewe' 98; 'thilk feith or conclusioun of bileeue is not *worthi to be* holde trewe' 98; Other examples of prepositional infinitive are to be found on pp. 65, 83, 88.

§ 114. As the complement of a substantive the infinitive takes *to (forto)*, whether it stands for a gerundial genitive (= Latin "genitivus gerundii") or a participle of futurity (= Latin "futurum activi" or "futurum passivi").

a) The infinitive stands for a gerundial genitive (cf. Mätzner III, 44).

'the purpos *for to grounde* the iiii^{e}. opinioun' 105; 'the riȝt ... *forto aske*, and haue suche tithis' 400.

Note. *haue nede* is once followed by the simple infinitive and the phrase is there to be considered as a verbal unit, equal to the simple verb *nede:* 'immouable godis, whiche thei hadden no *nede* bi hem silf *occupie*' 288. Otherwise *to,* e. g. 'mo housis and feeldis than thei hadden *nede to occupie*' 289.

b) The infinitive stands for a participle of futurity. (Cf. Mätzner III, 46 sq.).

α) Active infinitive:

'as weel for thanne as for tyme *to come*' 343; 'in this lijf and in the lijf *to come*' 114; 'a thing aftir thanne *to come*' 60.

β) Passive infinitive:

'The secunde principal gouernaunce *to be tretid*' 175; 'these textis now *to be rehercid*' 53; 'this iiii^{e}. now *to be rehercid* opinioun' 102; 'so it is lijk to be with manie othere prelatis *to be wrongli deemed* of men' 106; 'hise punyschingis ȝouun and *to be ȝouun* in this lijf and in the lijf to come' 114; 'summe wordis *to be aftir spoken* in this present book' 8.

2. Specific Functions of the Infinitive.

§ 115. In the above account of "the infinitive with and without *to*", its function has been noted as a subject, as a predicative complement, as the complement of a verb, of an adjective and of a substantive. It now remains to mention some special functions of the infinitive which could not be subordinated under the preceding heading.

§ 116. A prepositional infinitive expressing effect, result occurs after *so, such, ouer* (= "too") *ynouȝ*. *As* is sometimes used before the infinitive, but is non-essential.

'no strengthe of the seid textis gooth not *so* fer *as forto forbede* to preestis and dekenys of tho daies forto haue lordschip of immouable godis' 277; 'Who therfore may make him *so* boold *for to reproue* alle graued ymagis in the chirche to be had and usid' 142; 'If eny man wolde be *so* nyce *forto seie and holde,* that...' 534; 'it is resonable ... that her outward habit be mad to hem into *such* for hem a remembring signe *forto hem remembre* ofte and myche into the chargis of her religioun' 546; 'y schal sende and putte bifore certeyn supposiciouns ... opene *ynouȝ to be grauntid* of ech man' 131; 'Alle othere processis of Scripture ... ben writun in the now late named psalmes of the Sauter and Sapience ... whiche ben *ouer* long *to be rehercid* word bi word here' 144; 'thilk proces is *ouerfeble forto weerne* ymagis to be had and usid' 147.

§ 117. Sometimes there is only a loose connection between the infinitive and the finite verb. The infinitive, being the substitute of a whole clause, consecutive, final, instrumental, interrogative etc., has at times a different subject from the verb of the principal clause. See Mätzner III, 50 sq.; I. Schmidt § 352, 4; Einenkel, Streifz. p. 240 sqq.

The infinitive stands for:

a) a consecutive or final clause:

'whanne the secunde lotting was mad for the xlviii. citees to be ȝouun to the dekenes, and this ii^{e}. lot fill upon Ebron, *as forto be oon* of tho xlviii. citees' 286; 'y delyuere or y bitake to thee this gowne *for to were* it' 284; 'Y ȝeue to thee a peny *forto spende* it at the wijn' 283; 'neither bi the cartis or chartouris . . . can be had eny sufficient euydence, that tho now laste seid grete and riche castellis and maners weren ȝouun undir the iiii^{e}. maner, or undir the iii^{e}. maner, but if it be fewe, and that in late daies, as to collegis under hope, trust, and entent, that the maister and the felawis kepe the statutis of the collegis, and as to summe abbeies or monasterijs *forto kepe* ȝeerli solempnytees of certeyn obitis' 401.

Note. *As* is not only put before an infinitive of the above kind, but is used in general to accentuate what follows. Cf. Mätzner III, 546 and § 81 above.

'tho ben argumentis of pure philsophie, and thei ben veyn fallacis *as to schewe* treuthe of feith' 100; 'the uce of these thingis, *as to be doon* bi tho thingis, is not there expressid' 121; 'and therfore *as forto* soone and ofte *come* into remembraunce of a long mater bi ech oon persoon, and also *as forto make* that the mo persoones come into remembraunce of a mater, ymagis and picturis seruen in a specialer maner than bokis doon' 214.

b) a temporal clause:

'God willid to be ordeyned... iugis louȝer and hiȝer up into the hiȝest, that if the louȝer iuge procede not riȝtli, that the parti iugid amys of him mai compleyne to the hiȝer iuge; and so eftsoone fro the hiȝer, if nede be, *into tyme to come* to the hiȝest' 382.

c) an instrumental clause with an accessory sense of modality, cause or condition:

'he hadde not do amys *forto bigynne and contynue* his now seid expense' 508; 'y woot not where yn a man schulde be seid more to dote than *to holde* aȝens the playn forme of tho charters' 411; 'bi biholding upon ymagis or upon such peinting his witt schal be dressid and lad forthe euener and more stabili and with myche lasse peyne and labour, than *forto wrastle* withinneforth in his owne ymaginaciouns withoute leding withouteforth had bi biholding upon ymagis' 214.

d) an interrogative clause:

'Also as is kunnyng to knowe how we schule bere us to plese oure maystris... *how to chastise* oure children and seruauntis *how to lyue* pesabili with oure neiȝboris *how to spende,* that we falle not into pouerte' Fol. 23 d; 'philesofris whiche ben not cristen men and han not *wherbi to gouerne* hem in her moral conuersacioun saue her doom of resoun' Fol. 74 d.

This method of abbreviating an indirect question never occurs in Rp., where we always find a complete clause, e. g. 'the seid argument hath not *wherbi he mai haue* his entent proued' 470. Mätzner (III, 52) gives examples of abbreviated clauses from authors before Pecock, such as for instance Chaucer and Maundeville.

§ 118. An absolute or elliptic infinitive, independent of the principal clause, (cf. I. Schmidt § 357, Foelsing-Koch § 496, Mätzner III, 53) is fairly common, e. g.:

the sothe to seie 175; *ferther to seie* 158; *in special forto seie* 364; *generali to speke* 464; 'And so finali, *forto conclude*, it is proued . . .' 357; 'And so, *forto come* into the point' 245; 'Ech doable thing longing to moral conuersacioun . . . is leeful . . . *in propre maner forto clepe* a thing leeful' 135.

3) Gender and Voice in the Infinitive.

§ 119. a) If the infinitive is neutral, that is to say, if it neither refers to a subject nor object (cf. Paul, Prinzipien § 257), the passive voice occurs, though rarely in Pecock:

'y schal teche, as to me semyth bettir *to be tauȝt*' Fol. 13 b.

b) Where the infinitive has an object, but no subject, the following cases may be distinguished:

α) The object of the infinitive a clause. In this case the infinitive occurs in either voice:

'*forto seie* that this deede of the wil doon in constreynyng is no vertuose deede . . . is not best *to be seid*' Fol. 38 d; 'if it be sooth *to be seid* that al oure feith is to be knowe bi doom of oure resoun' Fol. 33 c; 'y haue herde *seie* . . . that . . .' Fol. 40 d.

To this category belong infinitives after the impersonal "*it is*", with which the infinitive forms a kind of periphrastic tense: *it is to wite* 216, 223, 235; *it is to undirstonde and to holde* 344; *it is to feele and undirstonde* 37; *it is to undirstonde* 81; *it is to be undirstonde* 304; *it is to be holde* 19; *it is to hope* 223; *it is not to be trowid* 361; *it is to be drad* 249.

β) The object of the infinitive a noun. If the infinitive stands in an objective relation to certain verbs such as: *lete, make, forbede, weerne, allowe,* the noun may follow the infinitive which is then in the active voice:

'a worthi lettrid man . . . *lete make* and *compile* the ful famose and credible storie' 355; 'Salomon

made weue ymagis of cherubin' 139; 'tho religiosis ... *forbeden to ete* metis whiche God ordeynede to take' 492; 'what schal *weerne to do* alle these same deedis bifore an ymage of God' 169 sq.; 'Holi Scripture ... *allowith to haue* and *use* ymagis as rememoratijf signes' 162; 'thou muste needis *allowe* and *approue* ... *forto haue* and *use* ymagis' 172.

But the noun is changed, as a rule, into the subject of the infinitive, as in Modern English (cf. I. Schmidt § 361,3) and the infinitive appears in the passive voice. Only a few instances need be given here, as the construction will be again treated under the section: Accusative with Infinitive §§ 123—124.

'y haue herde wijsdom *to be nombrid* bothe of Aristotil and of doctours as for oon of the knowal vertues' Fol. 25 a; 'y can make it undoutabili *be proued*' 103; 'if the capacite of ȝonge leerners wolde it so *to be doon* suffre or admitte' Fol. 7 c; 'What euer gouernaunce doom of kindly weel disposid resoun biddith *to be doon*' 167; 'thilk proces is ouerfeble forto weerne ymagis *to be had*' 147.

B. *Noun with Infinitive.*

1. Noun with Infinitive as Subject of a Sentence.

§ 120. Towards the end of Einenkel's remarks on this subject (Streifz. p. 252) he writes thus: "In allen diesen Fällen hat die englische Sprache den Accusativ-mit-Infinitiv nur kurze Zeit geduldet; sie hat ihn in der folgenden Periode ihrer Entwickelung als etwas ihrem Geiste fremdes ausgestossen, indem sie an Stelle des Accusatives den Dativ oder die denselben auch sonst häufig vertretende Präposition *for* setzte, das ursprüngliche syntaktische Verhältniss also wiederherstellte." In the following survey of "the noun with infinitive as subject of a sentence" in Pecock, it is proposed to state the relation between the three constructions noted by

Einenkel: 'accusative with infinitive', 'dative with infinitive' and *'for* + noun with infinitive'.

a) Accusative with Infinitive.

The accusative appearing in this construction cannot be mistaken for a dative from the circumstance that as a rule the finite verbs occurring here do not admit of a complement in the dative, and besides the noun and the infinitive together always form a group-unit, standing as the subject of the sentence. Accusative with Infinitive is found after the following combinations:

α) impersonal verbs:

it accordid 295; *(it) miȝte seme* 73, 303, 422; *it schulde be aȝens Scripture* 377; *(wherof) folewith* 392, 339.

β) *it is* + adj. or subst.:

it is alloweable 260; *it is according* Fol. 10 d; *if it be not inconuenient* 187; *hard it is* 422; *it is (not) leeful* 544, 534, 461, 418 etc.; *it is (not) unleeful* 161, 180, 429, 455 etc.; *it is leeful and expedient* 169, 170, 171; *it is leeful, honest and expedient* 237; *it (is) leeful and profitable* 453; *it is leeful and speedful* 453 sq.; *as leeful and as honest it is* 369; *it is unleeful or unexpedient* 475; *it is likeli* 202, 345; *(it is) necessarie* 288; *(it is) nedeful* 288; *it is open* 217; *it is possible* 296; *it is impossible* 50; *it is preisable* 557; *it (is) profitable* 332, 523, 549, 555; *it is profitable and speedful* 27; *seeld it is* 537; *it is sure* 188; *it is no nede* 71; *it is not synne* 168, 379, 452, 494; *it is semili* Fol. 2 d; *it is unsemili* Fol. 6 a; *it is not oon and the same* Fol. 91 a.

γ) it is + past partic.:

it is (not) forbodun 211, 297; *if it be not forbode* 297; *it is to be blamed* 369; *it is pretendid* 467; *it was stabilid* 254; *it is proued* 534; *it is to be holden* Fol. 15 d.

Examples:

α) *'it accordid* not with resoun *eny man forto holde* to gidere apostilhode and discipilhode and posses-

sioun of immouable godis' 295; 'Wherof *folewith this present viii^{e}. trouthe to be* firme and stable for a trouthe' 392.

β) *'ful seeld it is suche caasis to falle'* 537; *it is leeful, honest,* and *expedient a man forto do* his pilgrimage' 237; 'Iames schewith... how *hard it is a man to reule* his tunge' 422; (*It is sure* and *sikir* and *greet discrecioun* Cristen *men forto holde* hem to tho gouernauncis which Holy Scripture of the Newe Testament techith hem' 195; *'It is neither wisdom neither tender loue... a man forto leue* undoon many better seruicis of God' 195: *'it is semeli him to knowe* alle the spicis of knowyngal vertues' Fol. 2 d; *'it is accordyng* to ech such parfit and notable beest and lijf *be ȝouun* bi kynde *a witt* to knowe ech bodi which bi kynde schulde needis distroie his substaunce' Fol. 10 d; *'it is profitable him to haue* sum thing forto ofte and miche remembre him into the fulfilling of thilk deede' 555; 'as myche as *is it likeli it* (sc. the ricches) *abate'* 345; *'it is not oon and the same me forto wilne* and *ȝeue* to my neiȝbor my teching' Fol. 91 a.

γ) *'it is not to be blamed bischopis and abbatis forto holde and haue* avauntagis of courtis' 369; *'it is forbodun such... signes... be usid'* 211; *'it is not forbodun* of God *eny man to be riche'* 297; *'it was so stabilid ymagis to be had* in chirchis' 254;

b) Dative with Infinitive.

In this case the dative is the complement of the finite verb, and the infinitive alone is the subject of the sentence.

Except in the two instances: *'if it likid thee* forto so speke' 151, 'the same bondage, in to which *it happid hem* in her ȝongthe... to entre' 518, the dative, following the verbal phrase, is preceded by *to,* as was the rule in this period, at all events after adjectives of Romanic origin, cf. Einenkel, Streifz. p. 217, Mätzner III, 323.

Thus in a sentence like the one above: *'it is profitable him to haue . . .'* 555, the case of the noun cannot but be accusative, for the simple reason that only a prepositional dative could be used [1].

Dative with infinitive occurs:

α) after impersonal verbs, e. g.:

'it longith to preestis and to bischopis *forto ensaumple* vertuose and deuote deedis' 239; 'if *it like to eny man for to holde*' 142; 'what euer good dede *him lustith to ensaumple*' 311.

β) after *it is* + adj. or subst., e. g.:

'is is leeful to us forto use othere seable signes into oure remembraunce than tho sacramentis ben' 211; *'it is good* therfore *to us forto do* in the same wise' 547; *'to freel men . . . it is surer to not loue* money' 559; *'it is not perel to Cristen men* neithir to the Iewis neither to hethen men *forto haue* and entermete with ymagis of God' 249; *folie hadde be to al thilk Cristen multitude . . . forto haue storid* and tresourid to hem eny grete possessiouns' 318.

Other examples of this kind of dative with infinitive-subject are found after: *it (is) leeful* 419 etc.; *it was leeful and sufficient* 530; *thouȝ it be leeful and expedient* 252; *it is ouer hard* 297; *it is profitable* 269.

γ) after *it is* + past partic.:

'it is forbodun to us forto use the othere writingis dyuerse fro Holi Scripture' 211; *'it is to us forbode use* othere seable signes into oure remembring than ben the sacramentis' 211.

c) *For* + Noun with Infinitive.

In the few cases that occur, the infinitive is independent of the noun, and is not, as in Modern English (cf. "there is nothing so rare as for a man to ride his

[1] Except in the case of an accusative with infinitive *profitable* is always followed by *to* in Rp., e. g. pp. 321, 322, 331, 467.

hobby without molestation", Stoffel, p. 67), combined with the noun, forming a construction equivalent to that of the "accusative with infinitive".

> 'al that was best *for us to haue*' 467; 'how hard it is *for men* that trusten in richessis *to entre* in to the kingdom of God' 296 (Bible quotation).

If, as appears from the above statistics, Pecock had a predilection for the accusative-with-infinitive construction[1], it is evidently owing to the fact that he was influenced by Latin syntax, where this construction is the rule after expressions such as: oportet, necesse est, convenit, manifestum, bonum est, expedit, utile est, sequitur etc. In Wycliffe's Bible the same construction is occasionally to be found and is then always traceable to the Vulgate original. For instances see Stoffel, p. 54.

Einenkel (Streifz. pp. 247—252) traces this kind of accusative with infinitive in some measure also to French influence, but even though French syntax may be said to have influenced Chaucer's language, yet it would seem an exaggeration to state definite French influence here as these accusatives with the infinitive were rare in Old French. Cf. Diez, Gram. der Rom. Sprachen, Bonn 1882, p. 945; Wulff, L'infinitif dans l'ancien français, Lunds univ. årsskrift XI.

§ 121. Nominative with Infinitive.

The forms *me* 260, *him* 555, 557, *hem* 408, 467, 549, Fol. 2 d, prove that in all the instances given above we have an accusative before us and not a nominative. It is to be noticed, however, that the order of words has always been finite verb + noun with infinitive; and it now remains to consider the case when the noun with

[1] *Fortescue, Gouernaunce of England*, exhibits only one instance: 'it is not good *a kynge to* ouer sore *charge* his peple' p. 133. In *Paston Letters* and in *Morte d'Arthur* the construction seems to be fairly common (cf. Blume, Paston Letters p. 38 and Baldwin § 242).

infinitive precedes the finite verb, as in the following sentences:

> *'a man for to smyte* and bete his neiȝbour . . . is no synne' 155; 'Iames meened not, that *a man forto visite* fadirles and modirles children and widowis in her tribulacioun, and *a man forto kepe* him unwemmed fro this world schulde be al an hool religioun' 486; 'it mai so be, that *the ȝeuer or benefeter forto ȝeue* mediatli . . . schal be more profitable to the receyuer' 333; 'Wherfore folewith, that *preestis to*[1] *haue lordschip* of housis and feeldis . . . is leeful ynouȝ' 372; 'so it is, that *sectis and religiouns to be mad* with inne the comoun Cristen religioun . . . is not weerned and forboden bi Holi Scripture' 524; 'But so it is, that *pilgrimagis to be doon* is allowid and approued bi Holi Scripture' 189.

Here the noun stands at the head of the clause, and its character as psychological subject being consequently more accentuated, it cannot appear strange, if a tendency to put the noun in the nominative should manifest itself. And indeed this is the case in the only example, where a pronoun takes the place of the more usual substantive: 'And therfore thilk proces rather confermeth ymagis to mowe lawfulli be, than that *thei alle to be* is unleeful' 147 (= "...rather than it confirms that it is unlawful that they all should be"). This instance, though quite alone, is instructive. It shows that even in a writer of Pecock's age and of his learned style, there is at least a wavering to be noticed towards the substitution of the nominative for the accusative, and combined with examples from Morte d'Arthur and Shakespeare such as: "*I to bear* this is some burden" (cf. Stoffel p. 50); "*thou to loue* (her) that loueth not the is but grete foly", (cf. Baldwin § 243), it leads to the conclusion that the origin of the nominative case is first to be traced to the noun having had that position in the sentence which is generally given to the grammatical subject.

[1] *to* is interliniated in a later hand (cf. Babington's foot-note p. 372).

2. Noun with Infinitive as Apposition or Predicative Complement.

§ 122. This use of noun with infinitive is easily developed out of "the noun with infinitive as subject of a sentence". A few examples occur:

'And whether this was not an horrible abhomynacioun . . . *hem forto* so sturdili bi manye ȝeeris *iuge and diffame* bothe the clergi and weelnyȝ al the lay party of Goddis chirche in so greet a cryme, which thei couthen neither myȝten proue to be doon . . . seie who euere schal this heere' 149 sq.; 'this deede, *a preest forto freli take and chese* of alle maidens to him, a wijf . . . was allowid of Poul' 375; 'Forwhi a man forto take such a mark or evidence were *him forto iuge* of thingis pureli and uttirli to come, *and so forto take* upon him the iugement which oonli longith to God' 414.

3. Noun with Infinitive as Object of a Verb.

§ 123. An accusative with infinitive occurs after verbs of sensual perception, cf. Mätzner III, 14. The infinitive may be either passive or active, thus differing from the New English construction; cf. I. Schmidt § 362, 1 Anm. 2.

'alle men whiche schulen *se him go*' 238; 'if y, being at Londoun in the collage of Whitington, bidde . . . to my seruaunt . . .! that he go to Poulis Cros forto *heere* there attentifli *a sermon to be prechid*' 112; '*what* y haue *heerde to be seid* of me' Fol. 5 a.

§ 124. An accusative with infinitive occurs after verbs expressing effect, wish, command etc., cf. Mätzner III, 9, 29.

a) Active Infinitive.

'*Lete* therfore *ech man abide* in his resonyng . . . in to tyme he be sure that he hath suche seid sillo-

gismes' 76; 'the deede *whiche* ellis he wolde do or *make to ceese*' Fol. 58 c; 'Holi Scripture *wole a man to loue* al what God *wole him loue*' 114; 'my vertuose louyng with which y loue him (sc. my neiȝbor) *may haue* in the oon side *me to* overmych *loue* my neiȝbor, in the other side *me to ouer litle loue* the same neiȝbor' Fol 41 c.

Other examples occur after *lete* = N. E. "make" (prepos. infin.) Fol. 6 a; *require and aske* (prepos. infin.) 17; *bidde* (simple infin.) 152; *preie* (prepos. infin.) 260; *allowe and approue* (prepos. infin.) 140; *make* (simple infin.) 254, 262, 420, 507 etc.: (prepos. infin.) 3, 73, 154, 159, 508, Fol. 50 b, 58 c etc; *suffre* (simple infin.) 78: (prepos. infin.) 317; *weerne* (prepos. infin.) 551.

b) Passive Infinitive.

'resoun *wole hem* (sc. grete werkis) *to be done* for god' Fol. 52 b; 'God *wolde haue men*... in the more affect *be stirid* toward religioun' 523; 'God *willid to be ordeyned* bothe in the clergijs side and in the lay parties side *iugis* louȝer and hiȝer' 382; 'it is forbodun bi these textis eny man *wilne or suffre him silf be clepid* maister' 418; 'y turne my will forto *wille my tresour to be uttrid and delyuerid*' Fol. 59 d.

Other examples occur after: *make* (simple infin.) 103: (prepos. infin.) 108; *wole* (simple infin.) 135: (prepos. infin.) 111; *wille* (prepos. infin.) 434, 473: *bidde* (prepos. infin.) 167; *allowe and approue* (prepos. infin.) 167; *lette* (prepos. infin.) 157; *ordeyne* (prepos. infin.) 530; *weerne* (prepos. infin.) 147; *reproue* (prepos. infin.) 147; *counseile* (prepos. infin.) 167.

Note. Some verbs admit of a double construction, the noun with infinitive being sometimes preceded by the preposition *to,* sometimes not:

bidde α) = O. E. *biddan,* construed with genitive of thing and accusative of person or dative of person and accusative of thing (cf. Wülfing, Syntax I, 34).

β) = O. E. *béodan,* construed with dative of person and accusative of thing (cf. Bosworth-Toller pp. 84, 99).

'he thanne *bade* not *to hem forto preche* any Euangelie' 60. (Other examples of the noun being governed by preposition occur: pp. 279, 295, 492). 'God *bade the peple* of Israel *forto make* a brasen ymage of a serpent' 138.

forbede: O. E. *forbéodan* is construed with dative of person and accusative of thing, but occurs also with accusative and infinitive (cf. Bosworth-Toller p. 302 and Mätzner III, 11).

'God *forbade to Noe... forto ete* fleisch' 526; 'thei (sc. the religiouns) . . . *forbeden to her religiose persoones forto visite* fadirles and moderles children' 478; 'he *forbade hem forto ete* of a certeyn tree' 526; 'Goddis forbode that eny man *forbede ȝou forto make* such undirnymyng' 253.

lette: O. E. *lettan* is construed with accusative of person and genitive of thing (cf. Bosworth-Toller p. 635).

'to him is lettid forto do or abstene or leue undoon what he wolde bi his inwarde kynde do' Fol. 55 d; 'many doctouris in her writingis holden the contrari of my seiyng here, but that may not *lette me forto holde* what y kanne openli proue' Fol. 33 a.

preie: O. Fr. *prier* is construed with dative and infinitive (see Einenkel in Anglia XIII p. 91).

'to the creature is preied forto do what he may not do, but what oonli God mai do' 201; 'y *preie the man to do* thilk deede' 260.

licence: Godefroy (IV, 774) has one instance of O. Fr. *licencier* with accusative of person.

'God *licencid to ech persoon* of the lay party *forto ȝeue* bi vow to the preestis and dekenis of the seid clergi his feeld and his hous' 280; 'Holi Scripture

in the Oold Testament grauntid and *licencid preestis and dekenys* of thilk tyme *forto haue* in lordschip and in possessioun unmouable godis' 279.

§ 125. An accusative with infinitive is found after verbs of thinking and intellectual perception and after certain verbs of saying.

The verbs of thinking and intellectual perception, followed by this construction in Pecock are as follows:

bileue (prepos. infin.) 351; *conceyue* (prepos. infin.) 90; *considere* (prepos. infin.) 474; *deeme* (prepos. infin.) 223; *deme and iuge* (simple infin.) Fol. 76 d; *feele* (prepos. infin.) 448; *holde and trowe* (prepos. infin.) 153; *iuge* (prepos. infin.) 149; *knowe* (simple infin.) 71: (prepos. infin.) 134, 244; *presuppose* (prepos. infin.) 23; *recorde* (prepos. infin.) 249; *see* (prepos infin.) 34; *take* (prepos. infin.) 199; *trowe* (prepos. infin.) 50, 151, 246: (simple infin.) 50, 244; *undirstonde* (prepos. infin.) 529; *weene* (prepos. infin.) 6, 141, 151: (simple infin.) 6; *wite* (simple infin.) 67, 251; *ymagine* (simple and prepos. infin.) 269.

The verbs of saying followed by accusative with infinitive are as follows:

afferme (simple infin.) 525; *alegge* (prepos. infin.) 81; *assigne* (prepos. infin.) 209, 477; *calle* (prepos. infin.) 476; *clepe* (prepos. infin.) 153; *clepe and seie* (prepos. infin.) 446; *conclude* (prepos. infin.) Fol. 62 c; *conferme* (prepos. infin.) 147, 528; *declare* (prepos. infin.) 446; *defende* (prepos. infin.) 123; *denounce* (prepos. infin.) 112; *denye* (prepos. infin.) 509; *diffame* (prepos. infin.) 149; *expresse* (prepos. infin.) 305 sq.; *graunte* (simple infin.) 246; *obiecte* (prepos. infin.) 50; *prophecie* (prepos. infin.) 234; *proue* (simple infin.) 373; *schewe* (prepos. infin.) 153, 403; *seie* (prepos. infin.) 414, 446, Fol. 38 d; *storie* (prepos. infin.) 299; *teche* (prepos. infin.) 248; *wijte* (prepos. infin.) 155; *witnesse* (simple and prepos. infin.) 526; *write* (prepos. infin.) Fol. 31 a.

Examples are:

'alle tho men in thilk while *taken a creature to be* her God' 199; 'schal y bere thee and hond that thou *trowist Arthur and Iulius Cesar and Hector to be* quyk in thi clooth' 151; 'Dynys *declarith* openli *a bischop to be* aboue othere louȝer preestis' 446; 'he *clepith* and *seith Thymothie to be* such a bischop' 446; 'If thou *seie the now rehercid opynyoun of the seid clerk to be groundid* here on' 414; 'Crist *prophecied ... Ierusalem to be distruyed*' 234; 'Salomon ... *expressith the gretter perel of synne to come* bi begrie than to come bi ricchessis' 305 sq.; 'he *knowith me admytte and allowe* the writingis of Doctouris' 71; 'a deede is not morali good but if he haue such an obiect ... and but if he haue alle the circumstauncis *whiche* resoun *demeth owe to be had* of thilk deede and but if he lacke alle the circumstauncis which resoun *demeth* and *iugith him owe to lacke*' Fol. 76 d; 'y haue openli *write me to feele* herof the contrari' Fol. 31 a; 'Luk there *storieth Crist to haue seid* thus' 299.

If the subject of the infinitive is identical with that of the finite verb, it is usually expressed by a personal pronoun with or without the addition of *silf*.

'neither eny creature ouȝte *seie him to haue* a propre Euangelie bisidis the Euangelie of God' 61; 'Austin *knowlechid him silf hunte out* the dew litteral undirstonding of Holi Scripture' 178; 'he (sc. God) wole that we *be aknowe us to haue* fadir and modir on erthe' 472; the Apostlis *feleden hem silf to haue* state and degree in preesthode aboue othere bischopis' 448.

The other verbs construed in the same way in Pecock are as follows:

meene (hem forto be) 425; *we(e)ne (hem be bede)* 7, *(hem silf forto kunne)* 129; *holde (him silf to be)* 423, *(thee forto seie)* 150; *knowe (him silf to be)* 313; *pretende*

(hem to loue) 463; *proue (him silf to be)* 88; *schewe (him to be)* 88, *(hem silf to undirstonde)* 239.

The reflexive pronoun is omitted, but very rarely: 'euereither party *trowith to haue* riȝt' 17; 'he *trowid be nyȝe* his deeth' 361; 'tho lay persoones, whiche *weenen* bi her inreding in the Bible *forto come* into more kunnyng' 37.

Pecock's extensive use of the accusative and infinitive after this third group of verbs is characteristic of his style. Krickau (Acc. mit dem Inf. p. 17) calls him the writer "welcher mit der Einführung des Acc. mit dem Inf. nach den Verben des Sagens und Denkens in Originalwerken begonnen hat". And thus much is certain that before Pecock this construction is very sporadically to be found. Einenkel (Anglia XIII, 94 sqq.) gives a few examples from Chaucer (after *conferme, deeme, holde, wite*) and two from O.E. (after *weene*). In Wycliffe's Sermons I have found: *'sixe thingis tellith* Crist *to come* in his passioun' p. 106; 'he *seith hise apostlis to be* hise frendis' p. 170. If Pecock may thus be termed the introducer of this kind of accusative with infinitive, yet it was a considerable time before the construction became really incorporated in the English language. According to Krickau (ib. p. 19) it does not occur at all in other prose works of the 15th century such as: Prose Romaunce of Merlin (about 1450), Morte d'Arthur (1469), Caxton's Recuyell of the Historyes of Troye (1471), Golden Legend (1483); and it is not until the beginning of the 16th century that it begins to reappear. In the Elizabethan period the construction is used about as commonly as in Present English (cf. Mätzner III, 29).

The same may be said of the construction when the accusative is a reflexive pronoun. This pronoun was by no means necessary, and in other Middle English writers the infinitive seems generally to be employed

without it, e. g.: 'many men *wenen to be* merciful to ypocritis, and þei done harme to men to which þei *wenen do profit*' Wycliffe's Sermons p. 10; 'he *wiste to do* good' ib. p. 197. For other examples see Einenkel in Anglia XIII p. 96 (after *weene*) and Mätzner III p. 24. It may finally be noted in addition that in Present English the construction is not common at all; "expect", "pretend", "profess" take the infinitive directly after them and with most of the other verbs: "think", "say", "fancy", "deny", etc. a whole clause is preferred.

It need scarcely be said that Pecock in his habit of using accusative with infinitive after verbs of thinking and saying displays clear traces of Latin influence.

§ 126. Noun with Infinitive in Sentences with Passive Finite Verb.

a) If the finite verb is changed from the active into the passive voice, the noun is usually made the subject of the whole sentence, e. g.:

'whanne *a mater . . . is . . . mad be remembrid* to persoones' 26; *'Peter . . . was* so *mad to be* heed in his lijf' 439; 'thouȝ *the same vertuose gouernaunce be lete stonde* stille and be lete contynued' 158; *'the effect of choice is seen to be fulfillid* bi willyng' Fol. 73 a; *'Thilk xi. gouernauncis . . . ben bede or counseilid . . . to be doon'* 115; *'the contrarie is trowid to be'* 270; 'y woot not where yn *a man schulde be seid more to dote'* 411.

b) The verbs *forbede, lette, licence,* which in the active voice could be construed with the dative with infinitive, occur only rarely with personal construction in the passive voice:

'he is lettid to descende doun' Fol. 56 c (cf. *'to him is lettid forto do* what he wolde bi his inwarde kynde do' Fol. 55 d); *'claustral monkis han be licencid forto*

be summe heremytis and summe reclusis' 537 sq. (cf. *'it was licencid and grauntid to hem* bi the lawe of God *for to haue* in lordschip and in þossessioun citees, housis, and feeldis' 290); *'he is worthi to be forbode* fro entermeting with the Bible in eny party ther of' 145.

In the last example the interposed adjective *worthi* has contributed to the personal construction. In all the other examples with the passive voice of *forbede* the impersonal construction is found, e. g.:

'to preestis and *to othere clerkis* of the Oold Testament *it was not forbodun* bi the lawe of God *forto haue* ... immouable godis' 297; *'it is not forbodun* of God *eny man to be riche'* 297.

4. Adverbial Functions of the Noun with Infinitive.

§ 127. Noun with Infinitive after a Preposition.

The prepositions in question are as follows:

For in final sense as distinguished from *for* as a mark of the dative. As a rule the infinitive is passive and the construction is evidently an imitation of Latin *ad* + nomen + gerundivum.

'For more pleyner undirstonding to be had' 344: *'for more clereli this same answere to be undirstonde* it is to wite' 151; 'if thei (sc. a mannys deedis) be doon with a free choice of hem toward god and *for god to be bi hem had'* Fol. 53 a.

For + noun with active infinitive occurs only once:

'religiose monasteries ... han withinne her gatis and cloocis grete, large, wijde, hiȝe and stateli mansiouns *for lordis and ladies ther yn to reste, abide and dwelle'* 543.

Into is very common:

'into the same gouernaunce to be doon ben manye

dyuerse weies and meenis' 111; 'sithen the willer may make eche of the seid deedis so priuey that the thretener schal not aspie whether thei ben or not ben, folewith that *into noon of hem to be* neither *into eny of hem not to be* the thretener may constreyne bi violence in the iiii^{e}. maner' Fol. 57 d.

Of: 'in the bidding *of the seid gouernaunce to be doon*' 111.

Fro: 'If a manys riȝt iȝe ... lettith *fro the more good to be doon*' 533.

Bifore: 'al that ouȝte be seen *bifore sentence ... to be ȝouun*' 143.

§ 128. The Noun with Infinitive equivalent to a Final Clause:

'in so sitting in the myddil he (sc. Crist) was the redier and the abler forto waite into al her good and profit, (for to be seen of hem alle, and forto be herd of hem alle, and *alle hem forto receyue* mete of him the bettir)' 300 sq. No other example found.

5. Contaminations and Anacoluthia.

§ 129. Einenkel (Streifz. p. 248) indicates the near relation between "noun with infinitive as subject of a sentence" and a subjunctive clause without introductory conjunction. Sentences in Rp. like: 'y wolde it were not forȝete what y haue tauȝt bifore' 83, 'Frowhens schule we trowe this came' 342, prove that the omission of the conjunction *that* was familiar to Pecock. In an example such as: 'It is leeful and expedient *a man knele* to God' 169 (other examples: pp. 202, 211, 475, 494) it is, therefore, impossible with full certainty to ascertain whether the construction is that of a subjunctive clause without introductory *that* or of a noun with infinitive without preposition.

§ 130. Anacoluthia, such as occur in Morte d'Arthur and in Paston Letters (cf. Baldwin § 241; Blume, Paston Letters p. 38 sqq. and Jespersen, Progress in Language § 166)

are exceedingly rare in Pecock. In the example: 'thilk proces rather confermeth ymagis to mowe lawfulli be, than that *thei alle to be* is unleeful' 147, the nominative *thei* is either due to the order of words (see above § 121) or to a contamination between a full clause and a noun with infinitive.

A step towards such contamination is marked by the following sentences:

> 'It is alloweable, resonable, and profitable *that religiose persoones . . . haue* freendis and menteyners and defenders; *namelich to haue* lordis and ladies into her mainteyners' 549; 'To what euer thing men preien deuoutli *that it saue hem, or to do hem* what thei knowen weel no persoon may do to hem saue God, the same thing thei taken for her God. But so it is, that to the crosse . . . men . . . preien deuoutli, that *he schulde saue hem and kepe hem . . . and forto do* what mannis power sufficith not forto do to hem' 199.

Here the subject of the infinitive *(haue, do)* is to be supplied from the that-clause. A further development of this contamination is to be noted p. 339 sq.:

> 'this what is now seid and proued, (*that the seid endewing to be* oonli an occasioun of yuel, *and not to be* cause of yuel,) is ynouȝ forto lette of the oold Fadris seid wordis folewe the riche endewing of the clergie be yuel doon'.

In the sentence: 'that ech man thus *worschipe* his fadir and modir is the comaundement of God, it is open' 503, *worschipe* may be taken as a subjunctive form or as an infinitive.

Chapter VII.

Verbal Noun and Gerund.

§ 131. Verbal nouns in *-ing* are of frequent occurrence in Pecock and combine substantival and verbal functions to about the same extent as in Present English. As nouns they may have attributive adjuncts and be used in both numbers and in prepositional cases and owing to their verbal character they can be qualified by adverbial adjuncts and govern an object.

It is proposed now to closely follow the verbal nouns in their development into the gerund.

§ 132. The Verbal Noun accompanied by an Objective Genitive, synthetic or analytic.

In the case of an analytic genitive the noun may be preceded by an article or not.

a) Synthetic Genitive.

The verbal noun occurs after the following prepositions:

into: *'into, whos* (sc. treuthe) *fynding and grounding'* 70 sq.; *'into his* (sc. conclusioun) *prouyng'* 39; *'into her* (sc. ymagis) *reprouyng'* 147; *'in to his more worschiping and seruyng'* 244; *'into his supporting'* 338; *'into her enformyng'* Fol. 10 c; *'into youre comfortyng'* Fol. 79 b; *'into oure remembring'* 211 etc.

for: 'a point *for whos fulfilling'* 172.

to: 'aftir a certein of ȝeeris *next to his* (sc. brigge) *first making'* 338.

of: *'of how myche yuelis letting and forbaring* the same gouernaunce is an occasioun' 340; 'the Feest *of the Crossis Fynding'* 200; 'out *of the briggis* (gen. sing.) contynuel *appeiring'* 338.

b) Analytic Genitive.

α) The Verbal Noun preceded by an Article.

The noun in subject or object position:

'the hauyng and using of ymagis in chirchis' 111; *'the making and using of ale,* or *the wering of wommannys couercheefis'* 123.

The noun after prepositions:

'Into the iustifiyng of the ii^e. gouernaunce' 548; *'into the fulfilling of thilk deede'* 555; *'bi the noun hauyng of the same seid gouernaunce'* 432.

β) The Noun not preceded by an Article:

'bi wering of wommennys couercheefis' 119; *'bi making of ale and of beer'* 121; *'for grounding of the iiii^e. opinioun'* 104; *'into witnessing of it'* 133; *'in iuging of a gouernaunce'* 109; *'in making of the seid donet'.* Fol. 3 b; *'in coueryng of his defaut'* Fol. 6 a.

§ 133. The Verbal Noun qualified by Adverbial Adjuncts.

This kind of Gerund is first found in Rolle de Hampole († 1349) and Dan Michel of Northgate (about 1340) (cf. Blume, Paston Letters p. 40; Blume, Gerundium p. 7) and owing to Latin influence, was further developed in Wycliffe's Bible (about 1380); cf. Blume, Gerundium pp. 12—14.

'manye uniust *goingis out'* 537; 'after the sunnys *going doun'* 224; 'such *creping toward an ymage'* 273; *'in smyting of* of Golie's heed' 71; 'out of *the kuttingis awey* of tho religiouns' 516; *'the bryngyngis forth* of moral vertues' Fol. 6 b, etc.

§ 134. The Verbal Noun followed by a Direct Object.

This stage of development is noted in Chaucer[1] (after the preposition *in*), P. Plowman[2] B-text 1377 (after *in*), Maundeville[3] (after *in*) and Wycliffe[3] (after *in* and *of*).

[1] See Einenkel, Streifz. p. 270.

[2] See Mätzner III, 83 and Blume, Gerundium p. 11.

[3] See Blume, Gerundium p. 12 and Kellner, Outlines § 417.

a) As a rule there is no article before the gerund.

After *in:* *'in doing Goddis seruice'* 78; *'in paiyng hise iust promissis'* 13; *'in not amys tempting God* azens reson' 13; *'in bigeting children'* 500: *'in descryuyng the storie'* 150; *'in defendyng me'* Fol. 60 d; *'in so reuling him'* 218; 'in trowing to his counseil and *in folewing it'* 92.

Other examples: pp. 42, 44, 78, 85, 87, 148, 149, 150 and often elsewhere.

After *of:* 'the repressing *of ouer miche wijting the clergie'* 4; 'The Represser *of over moche wijtyng the clergie'* 130; 'a waiour *of lesing myn arme'* 54; 'occasioun *of letting miche yuel'* 340; 'the office *of preising God'* 183.

After *bi:* *'bi having and using ymagis'* 198; *'bi bringing and reducing him'* 259; *'bi asking it* of othere' 345; *'bi remouyng hem'* 396; *'bi mustring it and schewing it'* 82.

After *into:* 'alle tho deedis . . . schulen be doon . . . *into making the doer strong'* 273.

After *fro:* 'absteyne *fro touching it'* 559; *'absteyne fro handling it'* 559.

After *with:* 'y schal proue hem alle . . . *with taking out of hem iiii. conclusiouns'* 110 sq.; 'it is better . . . forto not loue money *with touching it'* 559.

b) In rare cases the definite article or a demonstrative pronoun precedes the gerund.

After *in:* 'the assay and experience which mai be had *in the ouer reding and studiyng tho bokis'* 46.

After *of:* *'of this forbering the touche* (sc. of money) . . . cometh noon yuel' 556.

After *into:* 'the hauour and possessioun of immouable godis helpith and fortherith a bischop *into the bettir bering and using his cure* upon hise undirlingis' 304.

After *for:* 'Cornely ... is clepid a religiose man ... *for the weel keping and filling the lawe of kinde*' 485.

Note. If a possessive genitive precedes the verbal noun this noun can at the same time be qualified by an analytic objective genitive or by an adverbial adjunct but not by a direct object.

'in his blamyng of hem' 473; *'at his laste comyng hoom* to the King of blisse' 90; 'the long tyme *of Adamys comyng out of Paradijs'* 18; *'aftir his passing out of this lijf'* 322; *'Holi Scriptures affermyng upon a mater'* 73 (subject case); *'after the sunnys going doun'* 224.

Instead of a construction such as the Modern English: "there is always a kind of vagabond consolation in a man's having nothing in this world to lose "(cf. I. Schmidt, p. 446) we sometimes meet with "noun + participle" (cf. I. Schmidt § 378, 3): 'thei (sc. the successouris of the preestis and clerkis) schulden be punyschid or unpossessid *in her procutour or attorney occupiyng now tho godis'* 396; cf. below § 140 a.

§ 135. The Verbal Noun preceded by a Direct Object.

'An other maner of ouerte bering and using is for to ... awaite and performe the profit of the undirlingis *in hem weel reuling* bi doom of resoun, *and of hem not more or other asking* than as resoun or feith wole' 300; 'the touching ... of it (sc. money) is a greet neizing and entermeting and *a ful greet homelines therwith making'* 555.

Before entering into a detailed account of this construction in Pecock it may be appropriate to give some features of its previous history. Kellner, Outlines § 416, touches on the question where he says; »*"doing good"* without *of* was probably modelled on the older type "good-doing", which was continued to the last of the

Middle English period.» But, with this older type before us the question arises what its origin was, and whether it may only have been a mere compound formed simply on analogy with Old English word-combinations, such as: *dómweorðung, sincweorðung, dustscéawung* etc., mentioned by Kellner (Caxton's Syntax § 34).

A closer examination seems to show that the gerundial type under consideration did not owe its origin merely to these Old English compounds but that it was also due to a case-shifting in the noun preceding the gerund. An "objective genitive + verbal noun" was a combination in vogue in Old English times, e. g. *'tō gelēafan trymminge'* Sweet, Reader xiii. 164, *'tō gedwolgoda weorðunge'* ib. xvi. 27, *'for unrehtæs willan willunge* Bede's Ecclesiastical History[1], p. 82, 20, *'to godes herunge'*, Old English Homilies[2] i. 125, *'þurh þes halzan gastes isundunge'* ib. i. 99, *'þurh mu̇es openunge'* (= oris confessione) ib. i. 49, *'þurh dede wel endinge* (= operis satisfactione) ib. i. 49, *'in his side þurlunge'* ib. i. 207.

The instances given by Kellner (Outlines § 416) from Bede[1] and the Homilies[2] may also be adduced as illustrative of the same construction: 'Biscopas mid folcum *buton ænigre are scéawunge* . . . fornumene wæron' (Bede[1] p. 52, 31) *'bi his cloðes wrixlunge'* (Homilies[2] 1, 207), *'by his side openunge'* ib.

As is shown by the above examples in spaced type, there is sometimes an ambiguity in the case of the substantive preceding the verbal noun, since, from an inflectional point of view, it may either be taken as a genitive or as an accusative. The following collection of examples from Middle English prose writers up to Pecock's time will show the gradual development of this tendency to mix the two cases in question, a tendency to which the power of compounding and the Middle English

[1] Ed. T. Miller. E. E. T. S. 1890, 1891.
[2] Ed. R. Morris. E. E. T. S. 1868, 1873.

confusion of the verbal noun and the present participle may both have contributed.

Ayenbite of Inwyt (1340): *'wyþoute chapfare makiinde'* Mätzner, Spr. II, 89, 15 (= "without making a bargain"). — The pres. partic. ends in *-inde.*

Rolle de Hampole[1] († 1349): *'in oþer gude werkes doynge'* p. 28, *'with all athes brekynge'* p. 10, *'be othir pennaunce doynge'* p. 20. — The pres. partic. ends in *-ande.*

Piers Plowman[2] B-Text (1377): *'þorw bedes-byddynge'* xix 373, *'þorw penyes delynge'* xix 374, *'wyth-outen any bede byddynge'* xi 144, *'with-outen mercy askynge, Or any kynnes catel'*[3] xix 72. — The pres. partic. ends in *-yng, -ende, -ande,* e. g. *wordyng* xvii 47, *rydynge* xvii 49, *comynge* xvii 50, *sittende* xvii 48, *glowande* xvii 217.

Sermon on Miracle Plays (close of 14th century): 'techyng *of penaunse doynge'* Mätzner Spr. II, p. 226, 18; *'in penaunce doyng'* ib. p. 228, 13 — The present participle ends in *-yng, -ing.*

Chaucer, Tale of Melibeus (close of 14th century): 'it is no reproef in yeuynge of juggement, ne *of vengaunce takyng'* Mätzner, Spr. II, p. 380,1 ("toutefois elle (sc. toute demeure) nest mie a reprendre en iugement et en vengence" MS. Reg. 19 C. vii. fol. 124); *'in vengeance takinge'* ib. p. 395, 23 ("en vengeance" fol. 134); 'thinges that schulde restreinge yow *of vengeance takynge'* ib. p. 401, 13 ("moult de choses sont qui te doivent retraire" fol. 138); 'the yveles that mighten folwe *of vengeaunces takynge'* ib. p. 398, 22 ("les maulx qui en peuent ensuir" fol. 136); *'withoute wrong or harm doynge*

[1] Prose Treatises; Ed. George Perry, E. E. T. S. 1866.

[2] Ed. W. W. Skeat. E. E. T. S. 1867—85.

[3] Quoted by Einenkel, Streifz. p. 271.

to eny other persoone' ib. p. 405, 8 ("sans domage dautrui" fol. 140). Other instances from Chaucer are given by Einenkel, (Streifz. p. 270). — The present participle ends in *-yng*.

Maundeville[1] (close of 14th century): *'withouten drede hauyng of him'* 145, 19; *'withouten* empeching of any man or *any harme taking'* 34, 8. — The present participle ends in *-ande*.

Orologium Sapientiæ[2] (beginning of the 15th century): *'with wepynge teres schedynge'* 347, 38 *'in penaunce doynge'* 349, 5. — The present participle ends in *-yng(e)*.

Early English Wills (1436): *'without any money payenge*[3]*.'* — The present participle ands in *-yng(e), -eng(e)*.

In most of the above examples the noun preceding the verbal can be taken either for a genitive or an accusative. Some of the combinations, e. g. *penaunce doyng, vengeaunce takinge* should perhaps simply be regarded as a species of compound.

In Pecock the construction has risen to its highest stage of development. The following are the principal instances from Rp. and Fol.

in: 'the entermeting which thei (sc. Adam and Eve) maden aboute the appil *in it biholding, handling, taasting, ymagynyng, and questiouns theraboute moving'* 555; 'he schewith him silf be ful blunt *in eny treuthis fynding* or *hem sureli knowing'* Fol. 23 d; *'in hem* (sc. passiouns) *fauoryng or suffryng to* be or move' Fol. 44 b; *'in his* (sc. God's) *lawe keping'* 274; *'in his* (sc. God's) *seruice doing'* 75.

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[1] The Travels of Sir John Maundeville, a hitherto unpublished English version from the unique copy (Egerton MS. 1982) in the British Museum; Westminster 1889.

[2] In Anglia 1888.

[3] Quoted by Kellner (l. c.)

of: 'riċchessis had and receyued withoute labour *of it wynnyng and geting*' 304; 'in tyme *of his ȝift making* or in tyme *of the ȝifte to me denouncing*' 398; 'ȝiftis *of helth and of miraclis doing*' 95; 'undir greet peyne *of horrible deeth suffring*' 99; 'entent *of remembraunce to himsilf and to othere biholders ther bi making*' 171.

into: '*into Goddis trewe seruice and lawe keping*' 16; '*into the seid remembraunce making*' 115.

with: '*with mych unthank and reproof ȝeuyng and castyng* therfore upon the prechers' Fol. 49 a.

for: 'y thanke ȝow *for al this good informacioun to me makyng and ȝeuyng*' Fol. 59 b.

In some examples doubt may be entertained as to the case of the noun[1]:

'gouernaunce *aboute ymagis hauyng and using*' 137; '*in her deuocious making* to God' 553; '*in othere necessaries geting*' 384; '*pilgrimagis doing*' 189; 'meede *of her officis doing*' 387.

Other examples are perhaps only instances of compounding:

'*bi counseil taking*' 75; '*at ale drinking*' 129; 'maners *of pilgrimage doing*' 237; '*the remembraunce and mynde taking* upon these vii. maters' 114; 'his ther yn *ouerte bering*' 301; 'thilk *ouerte using and executing*' 300; 'the tyme of *the couenaunt making*' Fol. 65 b; '*bi couenaunt making*' 399; 'the forbering of *money touching*' 558[2]

As is seen from the above instances, the construction under consideration was of a wider range in Pecock than in any previous writer, and it is probable that there

[1] An apostrophe, denoting the genitive, is only found in *Golie's* 71.

[2] Cf. 'bi *pilgimage going*' 197, 'into *childe bigeting*' 15: these examples are evident compounds.

were here some new influences at work. A word-order like that of *'into the seid remembraunce making'* had an analogy in combinations such as: *'into the seid gouernaunce to be doon'* 111 (an imitation of the Latin gerundive) or *'after such endeiving received'* (cf. § 140 a) and it should also be noticed that Pecock very often places the object before the verb,[1] or in general, a modifier before its headword, e. g.: *'for to it fulfille'* 398; *'forto hem remembre'* 546; *'forto this iuge'* 311; *'him it witing'* 325; *withoute therof to him maad eny ȝeuyng'* 513; *'withoute into ferme to othere men leting'* 279; 'he schal make hem . . . *litil good forto perfitli kunne* and *litle good forto perfitli wirche'* 219[2].

§ 136. Nomina Agentis in *-er*.

Like the verbal nouns in *-ing*, the "nomina agentis" have a certain verbal character, though it has not been developed to the same extent (cf. Paul, Prinzipien § 255). They can be modified by adverbs, can govern an infinitive as object and are capable of forming compounds; there are, moreover, among Pecock's quotations from the Bible two instances of a "nomen agentis" followed by a direct object.

> 'ech *comer thidir'* 238; 'eche *asaier for to lerne The donet'* 58; 'expowners and *glose ȝeuers'* 65; *'scisme sowers'* 139; 'ech Cristen man schulde be redi forto answere and ȝeue satisfaccioun to ech *asker of him resoun'* 96; 'I witnesse to ech *heerer the wordis* of the prophecie of this book' 54[3].

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[1] A personal pronoun as object was put before the verb in early times, cf. Kellner, Outlines § 461.

[2] Direct influence from Latin abl. or gen. gerundii with object is perhaps not to be assumed, as idioms of this type were rare in Latin. See H. Menge, Repetitorium der lateinischen Syntax (§ 449), Wolfenbüttel 1890.

[3] The last two examples appear in Wycliffe's Bible as: *'ech man axynge ȝou resoun'*, *'ech man heerynge tho wordis'*. The Vulgate has:

Chapter VIII.

The Participle.

§ 137. The Participle as the Complement of an Intransitive Verb. Cf. Mätzner III, 68 sq., 86.

'summe of hem (sc. lawis) *abode charging* the Iewis' 19; 'Cristen peple *abiden* ȝit hidir to *chargid* with the . . . lawe of kinde' 20; 'Crist *came* visibli *riding* into Ierusalem' 260.

Added to the verb *be* the present participle carries the idea of incompleted action, but does not, as do the Modern English definite present and preterite tenses, necessarily apply to actual time or mean a point-tense. Cf. Sweet, N. E. Gr. II, §§ 2214—17, 2223—24.

'of these men summe in her resonyng couthen not fynde that ther *was* or *is* eny other substaunce *being* saue bodili substaunce' 242; 'for it (sc. sum untrewe opinioun) *is leding* into deedis whiche ben grete moral vicis' 155; 'summe moral vertues *ben purging* the soul' Fol. 51 c; 'this present chapiter *is reprouyng* a thing which berith openli ynouȝ . . . his owne reproof' 65; 'thouȝ Crist and his Apostlis *weren* now *lyuyng* at Londoun' 28; 'ech king *was* habituali an ydolatrer and mys *using* habituali the godis of his state' 414.

Note. Where in Modern English the definite tenses would appear Pecock occasionally has *be* + *in* (*a* once) + verbal noun.

Active Voice: 'thouȝ al other thing pretendid to be ground ther of be awey or *were* not *in being*' 12; 'the inward comoun sensitive witt *is* neuer *in wirchyng* saue whanne eny outward sensitive witt *is in*

'parati semper ad satisfactionem *omni poscenti vos rationem*'; 'Contestor enim *omni audienti verba*'.

his wirchyng' Fol. 69 b; 'the deede which he *is in doing'* Fol. 71 a.

Passive Voice: 'the while the crucifix *is in discouer-yng'* 206; 'whanne euere Biblis *weren in writing'* 251; 'the deede whilis it *is in doing'* Fol. 71 a; 'while the hiz masse in an holiday *were a doyng'* Fol. 39 d [1].

§ 138. The Participle as the Complement of a Transitive Verb (cf. Mätzner III, 71, 87 sq.):

'a voice . . . was *herd* in the eir *seying* thus' 323; 'what he hath bifore thilk day red or *herd red* in

[1] Storm, Eng. Phil. I, 2 p. 788 adduces certain examples of a definite preterite tense from the Authorised Version of the Bible ('And the multitude *were praying*', Luke I 10; 'Joseph *was feeding* the flock', Gen. XXXVII 2; 'He *was wandering*', ib. XXXVII 15) and he attributes the use of the participles in these examples to the loss of a preceding *a*. But it is not necessary to assume this, as even in the Wycliffite Bible present participles are to be found of much the same kind, e. g. 'to day foure daies in to this oure Y *was preiynge* and *fastynge* in the nynthe our in myn hous' Acts X 30 (A. V. 'Four dayes agoe I *was fasting* untill this houre and at the ninth houre I *prayed* in my house'); 'Saul *was consentynge* to his deth', Acts VIII 1 (A. V. *was consenting*). The verses quoted by Storm appear in Wycliffe with an appositional participle or with an indefinite preterite: 'alle the multitude of the peple *was* withoute forth, *preiynge* in the our of encence' (earlier version); '. . . and *preiede* in the our of encensyng' (later version); 'Joseph *fedde* a flok'; 'a man foond hym *errynge* in the feeld' (later version).

A comparison between the different translations from Wycliffe down to the Authorised Version (cf. The English Hexapla, London 1872) shows that "*be* + present participle" in the Authorised Version corresponds either to a similar periphrasis though the participle may sometimes be separated from the finite verb by some intervening words, or to an indefinite tense (sometimes also to "*be* + an adverbial adjunct"). Cf. Matth. XXVI 26, Luke V 2, ib. XXI 37, John III 23, ib. IV 51, ib. XIII 23. In the Gospels and the Acts there is only one instance found where previous versions have *a* before the participle and where the Authorised Version has the participle alone: A. V. 'Two women shall *bee grinding* together' Luke XVII 35 = Wycliffe: 'tweye wymen schulen *be gryndynge* to gidre'; Tyndale: 'Two schalbe also *a grindynge* to gedder'; Cranmer: 'Two shalbe *a gryndynge* together'. Conversely 'As he yet was *a comminge*' Luke IX 42 in Tyndale's version is kept in the Authorised Version.

book, or *herd prechid* or *seen peintid* 214; 'he . . . *hadde* suche visiouns *maad* to him bi God' 224, etc.

§ 139. The Participle in Assumptive or Appositional Relation to a Substantive (cf. Mätzner III, 72 sqq., 89 sqq.; Baldwin § 251).

Instances abound, cf. pp. 8 *(dryuyng);* 389 *(bifore going);* 16, 24, 388 *(rehercid);* 266 *(seid);* 389 *(conteyned);* etc.

§ 140. Noun + Participle.

a) Noun + Participle after a Preposition.

α) Present Participle.

In § 134, treating of the "verbal noun followed by a direct object", this construction has already been touched upon. Here some additional examples may be given to show the close relation between the concrete and the abstract constructions (cf. Kellner, Outlines § 418).

'this is the hardist point of greet perel, which y can bringe *ȝens clerkis spending amys* the goodis ȝouun to hem' 412; 'The first premisse of this present argument is openli proued bi the first principal conclusion and *bi the argumentis and enydencis prouying* him' 40.

Judging only from the point of view of inflections, it cannot be settled whether there is here "a noun + a participle" or "a noun in the genitive case + a verbal + direct object", but as has been already stated, this latter combination is not common in Pecock, whereas there are numerous examples of the former. To the examples noted above the following may by added, where there can be no doubt as to the case of the noun:

'if Crist wolde haue consentid *to the peple willing* forto chese him her king' 315; *'the storie affermyng* the seid voice to be mad in the eir . . . is not credible' 356.

ȝ) Past Participle.

'aftir such endewing receyued in this seid maner . . . the bischop and his hool chirche of the clergie accordiden' 406; *'Upon which thing thus concludid and proued* y argue ferther' 442.

b) An Absolute Participial Phrase is of frequent occurrence.

α) Present Participle.

'What euer gouernaunce was brouȝt into the chirche *the Apostlis therto consenting,* or at the leest *the Apostlis it witing* and *aȝens it not reclaymyng,* is leeful' 459; 'not eny yuel (sc. cometh bi occasioun of suche seid lordli bildingis), which mai not eesili be remedied, *stonding al the good* which bifore is rehercid to come bi the same bildingis' 554. Other examples: pp. 242, 459.

It is worth noting that the absolute participle is always connected with the oblique case of a pronoun. This is an archaism, inasmuch as the change of the original dative into the nominative, generally speaking, had been effected by about the middle of the 15th century. See Ross, Absolute Participle in English (Publ. of Mod. Lang. Soc. of America, New Ser. I pp. 245—302).

'this man mai not oonis or at eny tyme be putt out of riȝt and of possesioun of thilk seid mouable or unmouable good, *him abiding* in the same dignite' 386; 'y may not kepe priuey to me *hem not wityng* whether y haue or not haue my seid tellyng' Fol. 60 a; 'y kepe the contraries of tho deedis so priueli to me *hem it unwiting'* Fol. 60 c.

Other examples: pp. 325, 375, 386, 415, 395 (twice).

ȝ) Past Participle.

'Wherfore, *alle thingis seen,* this . . . reule . . . is trewe' 186; *'alle thingis considerid and biholdun'* 333.

Other examples: pp. 80, 204.

Compound Past Participle.

'*Which thing thus concludid and proued had and grauntid,* it is to be argued ferther therof thus' 438; '*the proces there had weel seen* schewith weel, that ...' 146.

ERRATA.

wende p. 32, read *wente.*

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OTHER ABBREVIATIONS.

A. V.	= The Authorised Version of the Bible.	N. E.	= New English.
Bb.	= Wycliffe's Bible.	O. Angl.	= Old Anglian.
E. E. T. S.	= Early English Text Society.	O. E.	= Old English.
Fol.	= The Follower to the Donet.	O. N.	= Old Norse.
Kent.	= Kentish.	O. Fr.	= Old French.
L. Ch.	= The London Charters.	P.	= Pecock.
M. E.	= Middle English.	Rp.	= The Repressor.
		Scand.	= Scandinavian.
		W. S.	= West Saxon.

References to philological periodicals and the books of the Bible need no specification.

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